

# PROCEEDINGS *of the* AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1889 . . . 1890 . . . 1891 . . . 1892

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LABOR OMNIA VINCIT

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
Ninth Annual Convention

OF THE

American Federation  
of Labor

HELD AT

BOSTON, MASS.  
December 10, 11, 12, 13, 14  
1889.

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PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF  
THE CONVENTION

OFFICERS  
OF THE  
**American Federation of Labor**

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PRESIDENT

SAMUEL GOMPERS, 21 Clinton Place, New York.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

WILLIAM MARTIN, 512-14 Smithfield St., Pittsburg, Pa.

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

P. J. McGUIRE, Box 884, Philadelphia, Pa.

SECRETARY

CHRIS EVANS, 21 Clinton Place, New York.

TREASURER

HENRY EMRICH, 339 East 21st St., New York.

# CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

## PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world, between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the Capitalist and the Laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit,

It therefore behooves the Representatives of the Trades and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled.

We therefore declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor organization in America, organized under the trade union system of organization.

## CONSTITUTION.

### ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This association shall be known as "THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR," and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

### ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

Section 1. The objects of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial or Provincial organizations, to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

Sec. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

Sec. 3. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; and, furthermore, to secure National Legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of Organized Labor.

Sec. 4. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

### ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

Section 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the second Monday in December, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention.

Sec. 2. At the opening of the Convention, the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside until his successor is elected.

Sec. 3. The following committees, consisting of five members each, shall be appointed by the President: 1st, Credentials; 2d, Rules and Order of Business; 3d, Report of President; 4th, Report of Secretary; 5th, Resolutions; 6th, Constitution; 7th, Organization; 8th, Labels and Boycotts; 9th, Grievances.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall have the power to appoint from the delegates elect to the Convention three delegates, who shall compose a Committee on Finance, and this committee shall meet at the place for holding the Convention, three days prior to the convention, and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months. The expenses of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

### ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

Section 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National or International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand and or more, two delegates; eight thousand and or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand and or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand and or more, five delegates, and so on; and from each Local or District Trade organization or federated body, not connected with, or having a National or International head, affiliated with this Federation, one delegate. The Delegate shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 2. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every hundred members, or major fraction thereof, he represents; but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are

entitled to, based upon the last reports made to the office of the Federation.

Sec. 3. No organization which has seceded or has been suspended or expelled from any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall be allowed a representation or recognition in this Federation.

Sec. 4. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, from the President of the Federation.

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union or City or State Federation of Labor, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, not connected with this Federation, or hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by a National or International organization of their trade, under penalty of being denied representation in general conventions of this Federation.

#### ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

Section 1. The Officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, two Vice Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention, who shall constitute an Executive Council.

Sec. 2. Should a vacancy in any office occur between the annual meetings of the Convention, such vacancy shall be filled by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council. When a vacancy occurs in the office of President, the Vice President shall succeed in their respective order.

Sec. 3. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 4. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

#### ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all general Conventions; to take general supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to publish a quarterly circular on February 28, May 31st, August 21st, and November 30th, of each year; to sign all official documents; to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation; to submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and at the end of his term of office he shall report his acts and doings to the annual Convention of the Federation. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interests of the Federation; and he shall receive for his services such sum as the annual conventions may determine, payable weekly.

Sec. 2. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to fur-

nish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as secretary of the annual convention; to keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the annual convention may direct; to receive and collect all moneys due the Federation, and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$250, for current expenses, which money shall only be paid out on the approval of the President; to submit to the Finance Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; to close all accounts of the Federation on October 31st of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after said date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing convention; to publish a financial report in the quarterly circular, and send ten copies to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation. His office shall be located in the same office with that of the President. He shall give a bond of \$1,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the annual conventions may determine, payable weekly.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property and security of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary. He shall deposit all moneys belonging to the Federation in bank, in his name as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, and before any moneys, thus deposited, can be drawn, each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. He shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others. He shall submit to the annual convention a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books and papers of the Federation under his control, and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in the sum of \$1,000. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$100.

Sec. 4. All books and financial accounts shall, at all times, be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

#### ARTICLE VII.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Section 1. The Officers shall be an Executive Council with power to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade Unions, and to organize local Trade Unions and connect them with the Federation until such time as there are a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall

be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

#### ARTICLE VIII.—STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS.

Section 1. The Executive Council shall have the power and are directed to levy a strike assessment of two cents per member on the 1st of January, 1890, on all National and International bodies under the jurisdiction of the Federation.

Sec. 2. In case any National or International body affiliated with this Federation shall order a strike, or are locked out, and by reason of financial distress it shall be necessary for it to call upon the Federation for aid, the Executive Council, if they deem that such organization is entitled to receive such assistance, shall make an assessment, not exceeding two cents per member per week, upon every other National or International body so affiliated with the Federation. Such assessment shall remain in force for a period not exceeding five continuous weeks, unless otherwise ordered by a general vote of all National and International Unions affiliated.

Sec. 3. Any National or International organization, or other body connected with this Federation, failing to comply with the requirements of Sec. 2 of this Article, within a period of 30 days, shall be suspended, and shall not be reinstated until all arrearages are paid in full. Provided, however, that organizations represented in this Convention whose delegates have been instructed to oppose the levying of an assessment shall not be liable to suspension until the matter is acted on at their next National or International convention.

Sec. 4. Accompanying a call for an assessment shall be a circular from the President of the Federation, giving a detailed account of the strike or lockout.

Sec. 5. No affiliated body of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to benefit from the strike fund of the Federation until they have been six months affiliated, have paid six months' per capita tax to the Federation, and are in good standing.

#### ARTICLE IX.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived as follows: From International and National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one-fourth of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Unions, one cent per member per month; and from Central Labor Unions of City and State Federated bodies, \$25 per annum. All money shall be payable to the Secretary of the Federation.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in this Federation unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in Section 1 of this Article, has been paid in full.

Sec. 3. Any organization, affiliated with this Federation, not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership in the Federation, and can only be reinstated by vote of the Convention, when such arrearages are paid in full.

Sec. 4. Each society affiliated with this Federation shall make a quarterly report of its standing and progress to the Secretary of the Federation.

Sec. 5. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers, from place to place, in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 6. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council or speakers engaged by them shall be \$3.50 per day and traveling and hotel expenses.

#### ARTICLE X.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Section 1. The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution or the Constitution of affiliated Unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 2. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 3. Any seven wage workers of good character, and favorable to Trade Unions, and not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body, to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trades Union Movement, and shall have the power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation, provided the request for a certificate be endorsed by the nearest Local or National Trades Union officials connected with this Federation.

Sec. 4. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be \$5, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and which shall accompany the application.

Sec. 5. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city, belonging to the National or International Union, affiliated with this Federation, they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or join such body, if already in existence.

#### ARTICLE XI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention, and to do so, it shall require a two-thirds vote.

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES ATTENDING THE NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, THE NAMES OF THE ORGANIZATIONS AND THE NUMBER OF SUBORDINATE UNIONS OR BRANCHES REPRESENTED.

NAME OF SOCIETY REPRESENTED.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	Number of Unions or Branches.	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
Amalgamated Engineers, etc. (American District.).....	1	47	George Campbell, 18 Bailey street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
American Flint Glass Workers' Union .....	2	87	{ William J. Dillon, Rooms 18-20, Excelsior Block, Pittsburg, Pa. John Corcoran, 218 Sixteenth street, Wheeling, W. Va.
Bakers' Journeymen's National Union .....	1	72	Aug. Delabar, 150 Nassau street, New York, N. Y.
Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union.....	2	65	{ Henry J. Skeffington, 31 Monument avenue, Charlestown, Mass. H. S. Lyons, North Adams, Mass.
Brewers' National Union.....	1	51	E. Kurzenknabe, 171 Allen street, New York, N. Y.
Boilermakers' International Union.....	1	12	Thomas J. Curran, 227 Spring street, New York, N. Y.
Carpenters' and Joiners' Union of America, United Brotherhood of.....	5	554	{ Francis Fildew, 659 Sixth street, Detroit, Mich. Henry Blackmore, 2507 Dodder street, St. Louis, Mo. Thomas J. Flemming, 310 Walnut street, Camden, N. J. Wm. H. Kilver, Grand Crossing, Cook County, Ill. Wm. J. Shields, 10 Cheshire street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	4	301	{ Samuel Gompers, 31 Clinton place, New York, N. Y. John S. Kirchner, 437 North Fourth street, Philadelphia, Pa. J. F. Mahoney, 14 Dale street, Springfield, Mass. W. J. Cannon, 40 Parkman street, Cleveland, O.
Coal Miners' and Mine Laborers' National Progressive Union .....	3	313	{ Chris Evans, New Straitsville, O. N. R. Hysell, Corning, O. David Ross, Oglesby, LaSalle Co. Ill.
Furniture Workers' International Union .....	1	33	Henry Emrich, 330 East 21st St., New York, N. Y.
Granite Cutters' National Union..	2	70	{ James Grant, Fallon place, Cambridge, Mass. John Heffernan, 52 Lexington street, Charlestown, Mass.
Iron Molders' Union of North America.....	3	249	{ P. F. Fitzpatrick, Box 388, Cincinnati, Ohio. John G. Weaver, Box 388 Cincinnati, Ohio. Charles L. Wright, 310 South Mount avenue, Baltimore, Md.

NAME OF SOCIETY REPRESENTED.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	Number of Unions or Branches.	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
Iron and Steel Workers' National Amalgamated Association of....	4	223	William Martin, 512-514 Smithfield St., Pittsburg, Pa. William T. Roberts, 94 South 26th street, Pittsburg, Pa. John C. Killgallon, Millwood avenue, 13th Ward, Pittsburg, Pa. F. M. Schaeffer, cor. Riverton and Third streets, McKeesport, Pa. Edward L. Daley, Box 219, Lynn, Mass. Henry S. Goodwin, 2550 North Fifth street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Lasters' Protective Union (Boots and Shoes).....	2	81	J. T. Elliott, 1314 North Fulton avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Painters and Decorators of America, Brotherhood of.....	1	140	George Joscelyn, 107 Chestnut street, Boston, Mass.
Saddle and Harness Makers, National Association of.....	1	13	George Watson Reid, 26 Albany street, New York, N. Y.
Sailors and Firemen, International Amalgamated Association of....	1	6	Gustave Von der Heyden, 402 East 72d street, New York, N. Y.
Silk Workers, National Federation of.....	1	10	Robert Howard, Box 203, Fall River, Mass.
Spinners' (Mule) National Association.....	1	9	John J. Egan, Northampton, Mass.
Table Knife Grinders' National Association.....	1	10	J. B. Lennon, 85 East Seventh street, New York, N. Y. Andrew Golding, 60 Salem street, Boston, Mass.
Tailors' (Custom), National Union.	2	119	Fred. Fellerman, 23 Morgan street, Hartford, Conn.
Tailors' Progressive Union of America.....	1	11	Oscar Seidel, 2817 Howard street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Textile Workers' Progressive Union of America.....	1	25	Archibald Barnes, 20 Clement street, Malden, Mass.
Tin and Sheet Iron Workers' International Association.....	1	30	Robert Y. Ogg, 522 Willis avenue, W. Detroit, Mich. John D. Vaughan, Denver, Col. H. M. Ives, Topeka, Kan. E. C. Ives, St. Paul, Minn.
Typographical International Union.....	4	294	Hugo Miller, 115 Park Row, New York, N. Y.
Typographia, German American..	1	20	Thos. F. Morrissey, 63 Lawrence street, Newark, N. J.
Saw Makers of North America....	1	1	Paul Steinman, 344 East 42d street, New York, N. Y.
Artificial Stone Workers of New York.....	1	1	T. Werner, 307 East 101st street, New York, N. Y.
Cement Labor Unions of New York and Brooklyn.....	1	2	Edward Flood, Barre, Vt.
Drillers and Quarrymen's Union, No. 3790, Barre, Vt.....	1	1	John E. Plunkett, Barre, Vt.
Granite Polishers Union, No. 3743, Barre, Vt.....	1	1	Charles A. Waite, 8 Lincoln avenue, Cohoes, N. Y.
Machinists and Needle Workers' Union, No. 2729, Cohoes, N. Y.....	1	1	A. B. Smythe, 24 Lombard street, Allegheny, Pa.
Marble, Slate Workers and Tile Layers' Union, No. 2711, Allegheny, Pa.....	1	1	John McIver, 188 Bedford avenue, Pittsburg, Pa.
Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers' Union, No. 403, Pittsburg, Pa.....	1	1	Andrew C. Ryan, Box 586, West Gardner, Mass.
Reed and Rattan Workers Union, No. 3850, Gardner, Mass.....	1	1	

NAME OF SOCIETY REPRESENTED.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	Number of Unions or Branches.	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
Ship Caulkers' Union, No. 3468, Bath, Me.....	1	1	W. F. Kenneson, Bath, Me.
Tile Layers' Progressive Union, No. 2690, New York.....	1	1	James Coffey, 104 Seventh avenue, New York, N. Y.
Pioneer Labor Union, No. 3873, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	George E. McNeill, 431 Devonshire street, Boston, Mass.
Conn. State Branch.....	1	30	Charles B. Sloan, New Britain, Conn.
Mass. State Branch.....	1	25	F. K. Foster, 134 Harrison avenue, Boston, Mass.
Rhode Island C. L. U.....	1	10	J. W. Gray, 44 Broadway, Providence, R. I.
Utah Federated Trades Council... Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor.....	1	14	Robert G. Sleater, care Grocer Print Co., Salt Lake City, Utah.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	22	J. D. Wade, 307 East Townsend street, Baltimore, Md.
Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	41	J. G. Clinkard, 96 Mt. Pleasant street, E. Somerville, Mass.
Detroit, Mich., Trades Assembly..	1	56	James J. Linehan, 183 Fortieth street, Chicago, Ill.
Denver, Col., Trades Assembly....	1	91	Joseph A. Labadie, 76 Buchanan street, Detroit, Mich.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council.....	1	26	Wm. Neuroth, 2240 Lawrence street, Denver, Col.
New York Central Labor Federation.....	1	10	John Stippich, 430 Fourteenth street, Milwaukee, Wis.
Pittsburg, Pa., German Trades Assembly.....	1	85	Daniel Harris, 312 East 109th street, New York, N. Y.
St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union.....	1	15	Gus Adams, 40 Third street, Allegheny, Pa.
Springfield, Mass., Trades Council.	1	42	Charles Kassel, 707 Lami street, St. Louis, Mo.
		15	Maurice P. Cavanaugh, Box 569, Springfield, Mass.

This roll shows 74 delegates representing 53 organizations (26 National and International, 13 local, 2 State and 12 local central bodies), with 3,333 subordinate unions or branches and a total membership of 600,000 members in good standing. This does not include the State Branches, Trade and Labor Assemblies, Central Labor Unions, Federal Labor Unions and Local Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. not sending delegates to the Boston Convention.



NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION  
OF THE  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1889

Report of Proceedings.

FIRST DAY—Morning Session.

Common Council Chamber,  
Boston, Mass., Dec. 10, 1889.

The Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the Common Council Chamber, Boston, Mass., Dec. 10, 1889.

At 10 A. M. the gavel sounded the call to order.

The hall was handsomely decorated with the national colors—the stars, stripes and the trade banners of the various local unions of Boston and vicinity.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the Federation, in the chair. Mr. P. J. McGuire, Secretary of the Federation, officiated as Secretary.

At 10:15 A. M. Mr. Oliver Ames, Governor of Massachusetts, and Mr. Thos. N. Hart, Mayor of Boston, were conducted into the Council Chamber, and introduced to the Convention by President Gompers.

Governor Ames, in behalf of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, welcomed the delegates in a brief and cordial address.

GOVERNOR AMES' ADDRESS.

"Gentlemen: I am glad to welcome to this Commonwealth you who represent a very considerable number of the workmen of this busy and prosperous country. You could not have chosen for your assembling a more appropriate place than this city—the metropolis not only of Massachusetts, but also of New England—for it is the center of industries that are second to none in this country in their magnitude and importance. From its very beginning this Commonwealth has been the home of industrious and hard-working people, and their industry and thrift have

brought with them success and prosperity. As a community we have been wonderfully fortunate, but we have also been incessantly at work, and our good fortune is the result of our labor, and we recognize in labor the main source of all our wealth. (Applause.) For the workingman, Massachusetts has abundant opportunity, and if he is not respected by all her people, it is because in the individual there is some fault that offends or destroys his worth. Holding, as we do, the workingman in such high estimation, we believe, and practice the belief, that there is no natural antagonism between capital and labor. Without capital labor is hampered and its results limited in these days of large operations, but without labor capital becomes unproductive, and it is only a question of time for it to become exhausted. We have never been brought to the pass of capital seeking to crush labor or of labor striving to overthrow capital, and may that time never come. (Applause.) You meet here as the representatives of others, to deliberate for their general good. In your discussions and actions I believe that you will bear in mind that all relations are reciprocal, and that to shift the centre of power too far in either direction is but to invite disaster. But I know that you are men of affairs, men who are accustomed to think and act for yourselves and I will not trouble you with my advice, further than to express the wish that all you may do may tend to promote the welfare of all sorts and conditions of men."

Mayor Hart, in the name of the citizens of Boston, delivered an address of welcome to the Convention.

MAYOR HART'S ADDRESS.

"Gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor: I bid you welcome in Boston; I bid you welcome in our City Hall. I trust that your deliberations will result in benefit to the community and to the cause you have specially at heart—the cause of honest work, honestly appreciated. It seems to me that the recent history of labor is full of encour-

agement. We exclude all foreign labor that tries to enter the United States under contract, for we want freemen only to come here. Labor statistics are now collected with greater care than ever before, for we want the truth, and nothing but the truth. And, here in Massachusetts, I cannot but point with satisfaction to the objects and achievements of our State Board of Arbitration and Conciliation, which establishes and vindicates the principle that the relations between employers and employes are not only a matter of private contract, but also a public concern, in which the Commonwealth may recommend whatever seems equitable and right. Your particular interest in the eight-hour movement is hardly greater than that of the community at large. As you well know, the Government of the United States, more than twenty-one years ago, made eight hours the standard and measure of a day's labor for all its workmen and mechanics. This standard has not been adopted throughout the country, but we are moving in that direction. This movement, it seems to me, cannot be confined to any one set or class alone, be it wage earners or the Government itself. It belongs to us all. And the better we learn that we are one, that nobody can live unto himself alone, that civil society rises and falls with the rise and fall of all its members, none excepted, the better it will be for us all. I trust that your deliberations will be an honor to this hall, to the city of Boston, whose guests you are, and to our common country."

In the name of the organized workmen of Boston and of the "Old Bay State," Mr. Frank K. Foster bade the delegates a hearty welcome.

#### FRANK K. FOSTER'S WELCOME.

"On behalf of the organized labor of the Old Bay State I bid you welcome. We know that in all parts of the globe where there are labor organizations in existence, the eyes of thousands are turned on this convention, awaiting anxiously the outcome of its deliberations. The great issues to be brought before you we all know command careful consideration and the exercise of your best judgment. You are here, not to legislate for the exclusive and select few, but for the workers in the field, the mine and the factory, for the dwellers in the tenement houses and on the plains, for those who feel most heavily the primal curse placed upon mankind. In their name we bid Godspeed to your deliberations, and we hope also you will accept the hospitality of Boston and the Old Bay State, in whose behalf I extend you greeting and fraternity from your brothers of this locality. And when you go hence, you will, I hope, be confident of duty well done, and take with you pleasing recollections of the 'Hub of the Universe.'" (Applause.)

President Gompers responded in befitting terms, and on behalf of the delegates accepted the hospitalities extended.

#### PRESIDENT GOMPERTS' RESPONSE.

"Your Excellency, Your Honor, My Friends and Fellow-Workers, Brother Foster: I confess that words fail me to express the appreciation of your kind words, and your hearty and cordial welcome. The suggestions you have presented and the thoughts

you have given expression to in connection with our organization we are pleased to hear, and shall give them that consideration which we think they deserve.

"Organized labor of Massachusetts, organized labor of the country, organized labor of the world, has demonstrated that the old thoughts that accompanied the name of organized labor, the old contumely and contempt for the efforts of the working people to organize and improve their condition, are not deserved, but, on the contrary, working people have organized and demonstrated their ability to organize, and with that time began an era when all men could see that organization of labor had the same tendencies, the same influences upon men that it has in any other form and station in life, that organization tended to enlighten the mind, to broaden the intelligence, to see clearer wrongs and injustice, and that, by concerted effort, we endeavor to improve them, I think the whole world, the men who labor and think, acknowledge that the status of the working people is higher to-day than it ever was, that the working people have a clearer perception and conception of their rights and privileges, and their honest independence, that is only begotten from organization, to insist that in this world of ours the producer of wealth is entitled to a larger share of the product.

"Our organization is one founded on eminent practical questions. We propose to organize our fellows, we propose to improve the condition of our fellow-working men and women, to raise men upon a higher standard of life, a higher plane of the social structure in which we live. And we hope that the time may not be far distant. We hope that as time goes on the working people shall be larger sharers in the making and execution of our laws. (Applause.)

"I assure you that the working people we represent, at least in trades unions and under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, know what they want. I believe they possess the intelligence to formulate it, and, I hope, the influence to secure it. (Applause.)

"We feel honored by the welcome extended to us on behalf of the State, on behalf of the city which rolled forth in thunder tones the cry for a greater degree of liberty for the people of the country and the world. We are proud to be in Boston, we know so many of its memories and incidents connected with its history; we revere its traditions and its men. (Applause.)

"I thank you again on behalf of the delegates and officers here assembled, and assure you that the welcome you have extended to us will be stored up in our minds, and will ever be an epoch in the history of our organization. I am confident, as well as sharing the hope that the deliberations of this convention will in no way reflect discredit upon the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, or our country, but on the contrary be fraught with the best results to organized labor and the whole people of our time." (Applause.)

Then Gov. Ames arose, and, shaking hands with the President, said:

"I thank you on behalf of the people of Massachusetts for every word you have uttered." (Renewed applause.)

The Governor and Mayor then retired, escorted by the committee.

President Gompers thereupon declared the Convention ready for the transaction of business. He then appointed the following

Committee on Credentials—Francis Fildew, F. M. Schaeffer, W. J. Cannon, Aug. Delabar and Gustave Von der Heyden.

Mr. Lennon moved we do now adjourn to witness the practical workings of the Australian system of voting at the polls, the day being State election day. Motion withdrawn.

Mr. Foster made the announcement that at 2 P. M. a carriage ride to visit the various points of historical interest would be given the delegates by courtesy of the city government of Boston. Invitation accepted.

It was further announced that the Committee on Reception would be pleased to see the delegates at Room 96, American House.

Mr. Dillon moved the Convention do now

take a recess until 11:55 A. M., in order to allow the Committee on Credentials time to report. The motion to take a recess prevailed.

Recess taken until 11:55 A. M.

The Convention reassembled at 11:55 A. M. President Gompers in the chair.

Mr. F. Fildew, on behalf of the Committee on Credentials, reported progress, and asked for further time until 1 P. M.

Moved that the report be received and a recess be taken until 1 P. M. The motion prevailed.

Copies of the Australian Ballot Act, by the kindness of Edwin N. Curtis, County Clerk, were received and distributed among the delegates.

Recess taken until 1 P. M.

## FIRST DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention reassembled at 1 P. M. President Gompers in the chair.

The Committee on Credentials then reported as follows:

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 10, 1889.

Mr. President: We, your Committee on Credentials, beg leave to report the following list of 74 delegates are entitled to seats and votes in the Convention.

(See list of delegates on pages 6, 7 and 8.)

FRANCIS FILDEW, Chairman.

F. M. SCHAEFFER,

WM. J. CANNON,

AUG. DELABAR,

GUSTAVE VON DER HEYDEN,

Committee.

Mr. Ogg moved the report of the Committee on Credentials be received and the delegates seated. Adopted.

In response to inquiry, President Gompers declared the sessions of the Federation would be held, as is customary, with open doors, and the public invited.

By consent, President Gompers appointed the following as the

Committee on Rules—A. Barnes, J. D. Wade, C. P. Sloan, D. Harris and John Stipich.

In compliance with the request of the President, Secretary McGuipe called the roll and all delegates entitled to seats responded to their names.

Invitations of city government for carriage ride, and of the Boston Daily Herald Co., to visit their establishment, and for a banquet on Tuesday evening, were officially received and accepted.

President Gompers then made the following appointments:

Assistant Secretary—Chris. Evans.

Messenger—Hugh McGregor.

These appointments were approved by the Convention.

It was moved the Convention do now adjourn until 9 A. M. Amended to strike out 9 and insert 8. Amendment withdrawn and motion to meet at 9 A. M. was adopted unanimously.

Convention adjourned to meet at 9 A. M., December 11, 1889.

## SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

Boston, Mass, Dec. 11, 1889.

The second day's session of the Convention was held in the Common Council Chamber, and opened at 9:15 A. M. President Gompers in the Chair, and P. J. McGuire, Secretary.

Roll-call showed the following absentees:

Absentees.—Dillon, Corcoran, Skeffington, Hysell, Ross, Grant, Heffernan, Weaver, Schaeffer, Goodwin, Elliot, Reed, Von der Heyden, Howard, Golding, Vaughan, H. M. Ives, E. C. Ives, Gray, Foster, Cavanaugh, Steinman, Waite, Ryan, Werner, McNeill.

Minutes of the previous day's session read and approved as read.

The Committee on Rules, through Mr. J. Stippich, reported as follows:

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 11, 1889.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Convention:

Your Committee on Rules hereby present the following rules for the government of the session:

1. The Convention shall be called to order at 9 A. M., adjourn at 12 to reassemble at 2 P. M. and adjourn 6 P. M., and at the appointed time the chairman shall call the Convention to order.
2. During the hours of meeting no delegate will be allowed to leave the room unless on special business.
3. Every delegate when he rises to speak shall respectfully address the chair. While speaking he shall confine himself to the question.
4. Should two or more rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.
5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless to call him to order for words spoken.
6. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.
7. A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same subject or question, until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so; nor more than twice without permission from the house; nor any longer than five minutes at one time, without permission.
8. A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.
9. When a question is before the house no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone

indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide, or to amend, which motions shall severally have precedence in the order herein named.

10. A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

11. A motion for a reconsideration shall not be received unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall require a two-thirds vote.

12. Any delegate who may not be present when the last name on the roll has been called shall be marked absent by the Secretary.

13. All questions not herein provided for, shall be decided according to Cushing's Manual.

### ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Roll-call of officers and delegates.
2. Reading minutes of previous day's session.
3. Report of Committee on Credentials.
4. Reports of officers.
5. Reports of Regular Committees.
6. Reports of Special Committees.
7. Unfinished business.
8. New business.
9. Election and installation of officers.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

ARCHIBALD BARNES, Chairman.  
DANIEL HARRIS,  
CHAS. B. SLOAN,  
J. STIPPICH,  
J. D. WADE.

On motion of Mr. A. B. Smythe, the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business was adopted as a whole.

Report of the Committee on Credentials was favorable on the credentials of the following-named new delegates, and committee recommend the credentials be received and delegates be seated, viz.:

Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, Wm. Neuroth.

Trades and Labor Assembly of Chicago, Jas. J. Linehan.

Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, Millwrights, Smiths and Pattern Makers, Geo. Campbell.

The following-named delegates were chosen as the Committee on President's Report:

Committee on President's Report.—N. R. Hysell, W. J. Cannon, H. J. Skeffington, R. Y. Ogg and Geo. Joscelyn.

Mr. John B. Lennon was called to the Chair, and President Gompers proceeded to read his Annual Report, which was presented in printed form and a copy supplied to each delegate.

## PRESIDENT GOMPERS' REPORT.

Delegates to the Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow Workmen: As year after year rolls on in the never-ceasing march of time and some of our comrades in the struggle for labor's emancipation fall by the way through nature's unerring hand, others urged on by the nobility and high character of our purposes, take their places in the line and gather as we do to-day in counsel, and to vow at the altar of progress and civilization our pledged faith never to cease in our endeavors until the wrongs and evils from which man suffers at the hand of man shall have been passed and exist only in the annals of history.

Of all the struggles of the human family for Freedom, Order and Progress, the Trade Unions are the direct and legitimate heirs and successors. It is their mission to continue the battle for the right until the term Rights shall lose its relative significance by the abolition of injustice and wrongs.

Let it never be said of us or our grand organization—the American Federation of Labor—that either has proven untrue to our task, faltered in our duty or false to our mission.

To protect the innocent and young, to raise man and woman from the sloughs of poverty and despair to a proper appreciation of their rights and duties is worthy of our best efforts, our highest aspirations and our noblest impulses. Let us endeavor by the nature of our conclusions at this convention, add one more step in this direction, we shall be just that much nearer our goal and make the final so much easier of attainment.

## OUR GROWTH.

It becomes my pleasant duty to state that the year just closed has witnessed a revival in the interest of the working people in the Trade Union movement. A large number of local unions of which trade no National Union existed have been formed. The energy displayed in various ways by them to forward the cause in general, to protect their interests in particular, and to further the eight-hour movement, is the best evidence of the great work the Federation has done and is capable of doing.

The great increase, both in membership and the number of local branches of our National Union, all testify to the renewed activity and zeal of the toilers and the recognition of the honest and earnest purposes of the American Federation of Labor, and the appreciation of the fact that our movement is based upon the lines of progress and the historical development of the labor movement.

## NEW NATIONAL UNIONS.

During the past year several new National Trade Unions have been formed by the American Federation of Labor, of which the two have affiliated with us. While of those National Trade Unions already in existence and not affiliated nine have joined us since my last report. We have affiliated with us nearly every Trade Union of the country. With 3,800 local unions and a membership greater than any other labor organization in the world.

## OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATION.

The Executive Council have endeavored to secure the co-operation, and to establish fraternal relations with all labor organizations. During the year correspondence was opened and continued with representative men of labor of Europe as well as in this country, and with good results. There is no doubt that had the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers thrown aside their policy of "isolation" which is unworthy of their grand organization, there would have been established a federation of all railroad workmen. That this is desirable and would be advantageous to them as well as the entire body of working people, I think all observers will admit. That it will soon be achieved is my fervent hope.

## CONFERENCES WITH THE KNIGHTS.

Conferences were held with the Executive Board of the K. of L. for the purposes of endeavoring to bring about a more harmonious action, and to secure their co-operation in the pending Eight-Hour Movement.

At the first meeting a manifesto was drawn up, but in the interim between its inception and promulgation, the actions which we so often had to complain of were renewed. Your Executive Council withheld their signatures to the document until some tangible evidence was given that our professions of "harmony" would not be an empty phrase. A letter was received from the Knights which seemed to remove all objection and the document was issued.

Subsequent conferences were held and the Knights' representatives proposed a mutual recognition of cards and labels. The Executive Council made the counter propositions that trade districts and locals be discontinued in their Order, and that the Trade Unions in turn would induce and encourage their members to become Knights in mixed locals.

We maintained that where there exists a dual organization and authority in any trade, a conflict is inevitable and can only end disastrously to all interests. I am not informed what action their recent convention took upon these propositions. I trust, however, that you will voice the sentiments of the Trade Unions upon them so that the incoming Executive Council may be prepared to act authoritatively.

The papers upon the question are herewith submitted.

Their action in reference to the Eight-Hour Movement I report under that head.

## FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS.

Several letters and propositions have been received covering various schemes for co-operative purposes from organizations of Farmers. In each of the instances, upon investigation, it has been learned that these organizations are composed of employing Farmers. While I am aware that there are many wrongs from which they suffer that should be righted; it is my opinion that

our purpose should be to organize and ally ourselves with the farm laborers whose condition is so wretched and whose living so precarious.

#### INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONGRESS.

Obedient to the resolution of the St. Louis Convention, to send a letter of fraternal good will to the International Labor Congress held in Paris, it was necessary to send two, owing to the fact that two Congresses were held at the same time. In my letter I took occasion to refer, among other matters, to our Eight-Hour Movement, and upon which they took action to which I refer under that caption.

#### THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT.

In the whole history of the labor movement there has not been any question upon which the thoughts of the civilized world have been so thoroughly centered as upon the Eight-Hour Movement inaugurated by the American Federation of Labor at its last convention.

When we met last year at St. Louis, the combined forces and influences of the employing and speculative classes so thoroughly held the master hand over labor they had become so overbearing, had so thoroughly awed the working people into submission, that every meeting night of labor organizations was but the repetition of the various notices of reduction in wages, the imposition of obnoxious rules, the presentation of iron-clad obligations to sign away our right to organize for self-protection, propositions, to increase the hours of labor—in a word, Labor seemed to have no right, economic or political, that Capital was bound to respect.

It was at this time that our proclamation to the world was made, to call on the toilers of the country to the movement to enforce the Eight-Hour workday, May 1, 1890.

From that moment a change took place. Hope was instilled into the hearts and minds of the workers to supplant despair. The rallying cry of eight-hours was sounded. The working people against stood erect and staunch in their manhood. The tide had changed.

I trust that the charge may not be made that we take too optimistic a view of the situation, or that the condition of labor is "satisfactory" to us. On the contrary, the very fervency of our advocacy of the movement to reduce the hours of labor, is the best evidence we can give that we are at war with wrong, and that our best efforts will be devoted to the eradication of every injustice and evil from which Labor suffers.

My purpose in calling attention to the change in the situation is to refute the idle talk of failure and to assert that our movement has already been fraught with good results.

It has arrested the downward tendency of the labor movement. It has forced, to a marked degree, the public discussion of our proposition. We cannot afford, however, to rest upon the vantage ground, stimulated by our success thus far, we must be nerved for a renewed activity, an unbounded enthusiasm and an eminent practicability.

I here submit a brief resume of part of the work done to further organization and the agitation of our movement.

Immediately after the close of the last convention a proclamation was issued calling for simultaneous mass-meetings of the people on the days set for them.

On February 22, 1889, number of mass-meetings held in cities and towns, 240; on July 4, 1889, number of mass-meetings held in cities and towns, 311; on September 2, 1889, number of mass-meetings held in cities and towns, 420.

Resolutions were prepared and circulated throughout the country and a certified copy of their adoption at these mass meetings is in our archives.

Besides the meetings above referred to, the three hundred General Organizers have held meetings in their respective localities. A number of Special Organizers have been on the road, traveling, organizing and agitating the question for the past three months, and there are few Trade Unions in the country which have not in some form or other discussed the subject at business and open meetings.

A series of letters were sent to men in public, professional, industrial and commercial life, and of all interests. Answers, in large numbers, favorable to our movement were received.

We secured the services of three of the ablest economic thinkers to each write a pamphlet on the various phases of the Eight-Hour question. "The Eight-Hour Primer," by Geo. E. McNeill; "The Economic and Social Importance of the Eight-Hour Movement," by Geo. Gunton; "The History and Philosophy of the Eight-Hour Movement," by Lemuel Danbyrd.

About 60,000 of these pamphlets were circulated among the toilers of the country. A number of different circulars and proclamations were sent broadcast, from time to time, in all numbering more than a quarter of a million.

Blanks were recently issued to the affiliated organizations for the purpose of obtaining statistical information as to the numerical strength, preparation for the movement, financial resources, if any assistance will be required, and several other points of interest in connection with the subject.

Various suggestions were made to the working people upon the preparation and direction the movement should take, and the most practical measures that ought to be adopted for May 1, 1890. Some of which I here repeat with the addition of such others as seem most advisable and commend them to you for careful consideration.

That one or two trades, whose organizations are affiliated, be selected by this convention, or if deemed more advisable, by the Executive Council, upon which to concentrate the whole efforts of Organized Labor to secure the Eight-Hour workday, May 1, 1890.

That all organizations affiliated contribute a specified sum per member to aid in winning the first victory.

That the Executive Council, in conjunction with the officers of the organization selected, in person, endeavor to secure the accession of the Eight-Hour workday from the employers without a resort to a cessation of work.

Should the concession not be made voluntarily, the trade selected shall be authorized to cease work to enforce the demand, and the funds above provided, as well as all other available or obtainable funds, shall be devoted toward the support of the men involved.



Upon the successful termination of the first contest, the Executive Council shall select another trade and proceed as in the case of the first selected trade and so continue.

That the agitation by mass-meetings be continued and with renewed vigor.

That an appeal for funds to promote this part of the work be made to Organized Labor and sympathizers with the movement.

That the best qualified men of Europe and America be invited to undertake an agitation and organizing tour through the country.

That all organizations affiliated grant an amnesty to those who have erred against Labor.

That the local unions hold public meetings in the neighborhoods of large factories, union or non-union, to organize and discuss the Eight-Hour Movement.

That the meetings already decided upon for February 22, 1890, be held and that monster demonstrations be held in every part of the country May 1, 1890.

I suggest that a special committee may be created to which all these matters may be referred, to be properly digested, formulated and reported, and acted upon by this convention.

Permit me to say that I am not wedded to the above suggestions. They are the result of my thoughts upon the subject and are submitted for such action as you deem best.

#### EUROPE AND EIGHT HOURS.

So far has the influences of our Eight-Hour Movement reached that the International Labor Congresses, held at Paris this year, resolved, in sympathy with our movement, to hold simultaneous meetings in every city in Europe, May 1, 1890.

In England, where there was an apparent adverse vote on the Eight-Hour Movement recently, immense numbers of the working people have not only made gigantic strides in improving their condition by increasing their wages and reducing the hours of their labor within the past few months, but the battle-cry for Eight-Hours, May 1, 1890, is taken up and reverberated throughout Great Britain with such earnestness and enthusiasm that will, no doubt, insure success and command the admiration of the world.

In all countries the horizon is brighter. The toilers are abreast with the times, not merely to squeamishly say "we always wanted eight hours," but to insist that the time has arrived that the Eight-Hour work-day shall be enforced. That its enforcement does not mean ruin, but a greater prosperity. That it does not mean a "disarrangement," but a better arrangement of business. That it means a nobler manhood, a greater people, a brighter present and a more hopeful future.

The hundreds of thousands of our fellows, who, through the ever-increasing inventions and improvements in the modern methods of production, are rendered "superfluous" because (through no fault of their own) they are thrown out of employment; who are fast degenerating into an impoverished idle class; who are a constant menace to the employment, wages and conditions of the employed workers, and a danger to our civilization and progress, have few to say a kind word to them, and none to give practical aid to rescue them from their awful and inhuman condition except the organized working people.

We must endeavor to save the unemployed from the fearful consequences of modern greed and avarice; we must find employment for our wretched Brothers and Sisters by reducing the hours of our labor or we will be overwhelmed and destroyed. If a humane feeling for our kind does not prompt us to do so, our intelligence and self-interest should compel us.

Those who, either through chicanery, ignorance or maliciousness, refuse to recognize the danger and necessity for action, and attempt to neutralize, counteract or nullify this movement, must bear the full responsibility of their acts. We, the representatives of the Trade Unions of the country, fully alive to the situation, must assert our purposes. We must declare that we will never cease in our agitation, whether in 1890, '91, or any other year. That we will insist upon reducing the hours of labor until all who can, and desire to, may have an opportunity to work and earn an honest livelihood.

All the papers, letters, circulars, resolutions, propositions, recommendations, etc., etc., are herewith submitted.

#### LABOR LEGISLATION AND LAWS.

Owing, no doubt, to the short sessions of Congress, little, if any, new labor legislation can be recorded as the achievement of the past year. Much better results were obtained in many of the State Legislatures.

I suggest that our conventions should formulate the legislation that labor demands, and empower and direct the Executive Officers to take such actions as will presage the best results.

#### ALIEN CONTRACT LABOR.

It is apparent that the law to prevent the importation of laborers, under contract, is not enforced in the spirit of its designers. Not only is the law violated, but frequently the officers who should enforce it, by their action endeavor to bring it into ridicule. The law should be strictly enforced without fear or favor, and, immaterial who its violators are, they should be punished.

#### CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT.

Reports to our office give ample evidence that the law excluding Chinese from coming to this country is flagrantly violated. They are permitted to come over our borders from neighboring countries, and under the pretense that they cannot be returned they remain in opposition to the expressed will of the people. All laws which seek the protection of other interests—notably, the tariff—are strictly enforced. Why the one strictly in the interest of Labor is not, should and must be remedied.

Then, again, peculiar constructions are given to the law by our courts, which practically nullify many of its most potent provisions. The influence of the wealthy "Chinese Six Companies" of California can only be appreciated by those who have been in that region, or are close observers and readers of their papers.

## THE CENSUS AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

The Government is about to undertake a Census in 1890. I desire to call your attention to the omission in the present law of any provision to ascertain the number of unemployed and the duration of such a lack of employment. I cannot persuade myself into the belief that the omission was not designed. The law for the Census of 1880 contained the provision, yet the Superintendent failed to collect or present the data as required. Every other interest of the country is to be rigidly inquired into, except the one upon which the future of the country more surely depends. A petition upon the questions was prepared and widely circulated. I recommend that the matter may receive your careful attention with the view to demand an amendment covering the omission.

## SWISS LABOR CONFERENCE.

Through a correspondence with our State Department and the Swiss Government, I learned that the United States did not receive an invitation to be represented at the conference to decide upon international labor regulations. The Swiss Minister expresses the hope that our Government may have the jurisdiction to participate in future conferences.

## LABOR CONGRESS DURING THE WORLD'S FAIR.

From present indications it is the intention to celebrate the 400th Anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, by a World's Fair in 1892. It seems to me that the time would be propitious for holding the first International Labor Congress in the United States. I therefore suggest that the Executive Council be authorized as soon as the question is decided by Congress, to extend invitations and proceed to make arrangements for the holding of an International Labor Congress in the city selected for the Exposition.

## BALLOT REFORM.

Pursuant to instructions, I personally appeared before and wrote many letters upon the subject of a reform in the method of casting our ballots at elections. We insist upon the right to cast an absolute secret ballot, without let or hindrance, or any species of intimidation or coercion. I am pleased to report that the reform has been achieved in several States, and the prospect for its general adoption in the near future excellent.

## ARMY MUSICIANS.

The practice prevails by our Government allowing regularly enlisted men in the U. S. Army to furnish music for private entertainments. These army bands, by reason of the regular pay received from the Government (and which the people are taxed to support) can and do work at lower rates than the private musicians, and come in competition with them. The practice should be discontinued. The Musicians' Union have sought relief without avail, the Federation should exert itself in their behalf.

## VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE.

A few appeals for assistance were issued in behalf of affiliated organizations whose members were engaged in trade disputes. While the responses were very fair and all that could be expected from the system of voluntary aid, yet it is not what our organizations should do for each other.

We insist upon the autonomy and independence of the Trade Unions. In the contest to maintain this principle, I take second position to no man. Yet in its advocacy and to further the high mission with which the Trade Union movement is charged, we, each of our organizations, should stand ready and prepared to render every assistance to protect and advance the interest of any of our fellows with the same fervor and enthusiasm as if we were the ones the blow was directed against.

One for all and all for one is a principle long ago recognized; it is cherished in the hearts of Trade Unionists.

## STRIKE ASSESSMENT.

The question of establishing a fund for the assistance of affiliated organizations engaged in difficulty with employers was submitted to a vote and approved.

Before levying the first assessment, it appeared to me that the details of management, distribution and priority of claims upon it should be definitely decided in order to avoid clashing of interests or mistakes.

## COAL MINERS.

The struggle of the coal miners and mine laborers of our country, the fearful conditions from which they suffer, and the overbearing greed of their employers make it essential that this convention should give special attention to the subject.

The corporations at one time forcing some of the miners to work at starvation rates, day and night, almost to the death; and at others with the utmost nonchalance, closing the mines for indefinite periods, may at some time raise the issue of their right to do so.

There are other trade difficulties which will be laid before you.

## RECOMMENDATIONS.

It is necessary to make various changes and provisions in our Constitution which it does not contain and which either the Executive Council or President is frequently called upon to decide.

The nature of the changes will be indicated during the convention.

I would also recommend that some change be made in the duties required to be performed by the President.

The General Organizers who were appointed have worked faithfully to further our movement and added largely to our organizations and membership. They have not only done so without



remuneration or hope of any, but have never been reimbursed for absolutely necessary expenditures in the performance of their duties. This should be remedied.

#### CONCLUSION.

In closing my term of office and returning into your hands the trust reposed in my keeping, I beg to assure you that I have ever striven to serve our cause and our organization to the very best of my ability.

For the courtesy and friendly advice I have received from my colleagues of the Executive Council, I desire here, and now, to acknowledge my profound appreciation.

To the officers and members of our affiliated organizations I am under deep obligations for their friendship and co-operation.

Fellow delegates, let our deliberations be marked by that courtesy, harmony and honesty of purpose, that has been so characteristic of our previous conventions. Let us each strive to vie with each other, only in promoting the best interest of the toiling masses and we shall thereby instil confidence in and respect for our grand organization, the American Federation of Labor.

At the conclusion of the reading of the report, the delegates broke out in long-continued and enthusiastic applause.

The report of the President was referred to the Committee on President's Report.

President Gompers resumed the chair.

The Committee on Credentials report favorably on the credentials of Thos. J. Curran, of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers.

Report received and delegates seated.

Moved, we take a recess for 30 minutes to enable President Gompers to prepare his roll of committees. That the time of 30 minutes be used in informal discussion, and reports as to the progress of the movement in various sections of the country.

Amendment adopted.

President Gompers called Mr. Labadie to the chair to preside during the 30 minutes discussion. Remarks were then made by Delegates Skeffington, McNeill, Kenneson, Hysell, Ross, Sleater, Kliver and Delabar.

By unanimous consent the courtesies of the floor to Mons. Le Vicomte de Meaux, ex-Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, of France, and his daughter.

The 30 minutes' limit having expired, President Gompers resumed the chair and announced the following committees:

Secretary's Report—Frank K. Foster, Daniel Harris, J. T. Elliott, J. G. Clinkard and Hugo Miller.

Finance—Thos. J. Fleming, Oscar Seidel, H. S. Goodwin, J. B. Weaver and John Corcoran.

Resolutions—Robert Howard, J. D. Vaughan, Aug. Delabar, H. Blackmore and J. A. Labadie.

Constitution—Wm. Martin, J. S. Kirchner, P. F. Fitzpatrick, W. H. Kliver and E. C. Ives.

Organization—W. J. Dillon, J. B. Lennon, David Ross, H. Emerich and C. L. Wright.

Labels and Boycotts—J. D. Wade, E. Kurzenabee, H. S. Lyons, Robert E. Sleater and J. W. Gray.

Mr. Emrich moved that a Committee on Grievances be appointed. So ordered.

Credentials of Gus Adams, delegate of the German Trades Assembly of Pittsburg, Pa., laid over for future action.

Communications received from J. P. McDonnell, Patterson, N. J.; J. F. Reid, Stubenville, O.; and D. C. Leets and Chas. G. Fall were referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Communication also received from Robert Tenary, Allegheny City, Pa., President of Operative Plasterers' International Association and referred to the incoming Executive Council.

A telegram from E. A. Meagher, Chicago, Ill., was received announcing an eight-hour victory in the new County Board of Cook Co., having just passed an eight-hour ordinance making eight hours the day's work for all county employees. Referred to President Gompers to answer.

A communication received from Chas. A. Taylor, editor and manager of the Boston *Daily Globe*, inviting the delegates to visit that establishment. Invitation accepted and request to be complied with at the same time the delegates visit the Boston *Herald*.

Communication from S. Leavitt received requesting sufficient time to read a paper on Immigration.

On motion of Mr. McNeill, the matter was referred to President Gompers.

On motion of Mr. Shields, the privileges of the floor was extended to Mr. W. H. Sayward, General Secretary of the Employing Builders' National Association. Mr. Sayward addressed the convention, and his remarks were very kindly received and applauded.

On motion, the Convention adjourned at 11:50 A. M. to meet again at 2:00 P. M.

Adjourned.

## SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention assembled at 2:05 P. M., President Gompers in the chair, P. J. McGuire, Secretary.

On roll-call the following list of absentees were noted:

Absentees—Skeffington, Hysell, Ross, Weaver, Martin, Daley, Goodwin, Reed, Seidel, Barnes, Foster and Waite.

Reports of committees not being ready the privileges of the floor were granted to Mr. Samuel Leavitt to read a paper on "Immigration."

### A SYNOPSIS OF MR. LEAVITT'S PAPER.

The immigration problem is one that ought to be seriously considered. The Chinese are being introduced into this country with great rapidity and in defiance of the laws. The question for us is whether the United States shall be a refuge of the nations or shall become the refuse of the nations. This inflowing flood will prevent our people from enjoying the rights they have. This state of things is going on at a rate that will soon force down the working classes to the lowest limits. The pouring in must have results worse than fire and sword. The drowning of this country is only a question of time; unless we stop the process, nobody else will. The speaker went on to point to methods in which immigration was encouraged, such as low rates offered by steamship companies, by the reports of labor commissioners and the like. He quoted largely from the utterances of public men and newspapers to show the perils of unrestricted immigration, making special reference to the Chinese and Italian phases of the problem. In dealing with the question of remedy Mr. Leavitt said: My plan is like that adopted in the Island of Java, where a foreigner, on receiving a permit to remain, has to deposit with the authorities \$40, which is returned when he leaves the island. If the immigrant proves undesirable the immigrant is sent back. This would not work so far as a permit is concerned, for we have such an immense border line, but in other respects such an arrangement is feasible. I would fix the amount at \$100, and this, if not called for within six months, should go into the United States treasury. The Chinese, of course, would not come in at any price. Such a remedy would only require an extension of our custom house system.

Mr. Leavitt's paper was very attentively listened to and well received.

President Gompers appointed the below-named committee:

Committee on Grievances—Henry Emrich, W. J. Shields, J. F. Mahoney, A. B. Smythe, J. J. Linehan.

The introduction of resolutions was at this moment declared in order.

Resolutions were then presented by the following-named delegates and after reading were referred to the committees here specified:

To the Committee on Resolutions.—Resolutions presented by Delegates Stippich, Harris, Emrich, Sloan, McIvor, Grant, Smythe, Seidel, also a communication from A. Vinette, Los Angeles, Cal.

To the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.—Resolutions presented by Delegates Goodwin, Wade, Delabar (2 resolutions), Lennon, Ogg (2 resolutions) and Reed.

To the Committee on Organization.—Resolutions presented by Delegates Lennon, Von der Heyden and Elliott were referred.

To the Committee on Finance.—Resolution presented by Delegate Emrich.

To the Committee on Constitution.—Resolutions presented by Delegates Elliott and Emrich.

To the Committee on Grievances.—Resolutions presented by Delegate Emrich, and from the Textile Workers' Progressive Union of New York.

Moved by Mr. Dillon that we take a recess until 5:55 P. M. Amended that we do now adjourn until the regular hour of meeting to-morrow morning. The amendment prevailed.

Adjourned to meet at 9 A. M., Dec. 12, 1889.

Adjourned.

## THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 12, 1889.

The third day's session was held in the Common Council Chamber, and opened at 9 A. M. President Gompers in the chair; P. J. McGuire, Secretary.

Roll-call showed the following absentees:

Absentees—Skeffington, Howard, Egan, Vaughan, Morrissey, Waite and Curran.

Minutes of previous morning's session read and approved as read. Reading of minutes of previous afternoon's session deferred until later on.

The Committee on Credentials reported in favor of seating Mr. Gustav Adams, delegate of German Trades Assembly, Pittsburg, Pa. Motion made to adopt. Delegate Lennon objected and raised the point of order that the said Trades Assembly had not yet affiliated with the A. F. of L. President Gompers ruled the point of order well taken on Constitutional grounds. Mr. McNeill moved that Mr. Adams be admitted as a delegate with a right to a seat without vote. Adopted by a vote of 42 to 15.

A lengthy telegram from James Bartley, Amsterdam, N. Y., on the necessity of a universal union label was read and referred to the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Communications from J. W. Talbot, Atlanta, Ga., of the National Association of Machinists; from J. P. McDonnell, Paterson, N. J.; G. W. Appel, Baltimore, Md., General Secretary of the Metal Workers' Union; all referred to Committee on Organization.

A letter was also received from Chas. H. Litchman, special agent of the U. S. Treasury, asking co-operation in having the Alien Contract Labor law amended and made efficient. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

The committee on President's report offered its report. Mr. Dillon was called to the chair. The chairman, Mr. Hysell, stated the committee would make a partial report.

Secretary Ogg reported as follows:

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON "PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS."

Boston, Mass., Dec. 12, 1889.

Your Committee on "President's Address" effected organization with N. R. Hysell, of the Coal Miners, as Chairman and Robert Y. Ogg of the I. T. U., as Secretary, and beg leave to submit the following partial report:

### THE EIGHT-HOUR WORK DAY.

1. Committee recommend that the suggestion of the President be carried out and a special committee of seven appointed to whom all matters pertaining to the eight-hour work day be referred.

#### LABOR CONGRESS.

2. Committee report favorably on the holding of an International Labor Congress in the city selected for the World's Fair in 1892, and recommend that as soon as the matter is decided by Congress that invitations be extended to the labor organizations of the world and arrangements made for the holding of said congress.

#### EUROPE AND EIGHT HOURS.

3. The committee heartily recommend that the European working men be complimented for their activity in this matter, and that we hail with delight the report that they will join with their American brethren in holding simultaneous mass meetings on May 1, 1890.

#### LABOR LEGISLATION.

4. Your committee recommend that all bodies affiliated with this Federation exert themselves in the matter of labor legislation, the formulation of such and the passage thereof in the law-making bodies of every State.

#### ALIEN CONTRACT LABOR.

5. The committee believe the laws bearing upon alien contract labor are satisfactory, but not rigidly enforced, and recommend that more attention be paid to their enforcement, and particularly to the large imports of alien labor, as past experience before the courts of justice has been that the persons who bring from foreign lands one or two laborers or artisans are convicted and the importer of large number usually goes free. (Referred back to committee.)

#### CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT.

6. Committee recommend that the Federation seek the rigid enforcement of the law excluding Chinese, and urge the representatives in Congress to do all in their power to carry out the provisions of this just measure.

#### THE CENSUS AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

7. The committee deem it of vast importance that provision be made to ascertain the number of unemployed and the duration of such lack of employment in the census to be taken in 1890, and recommend that the incoming Executive Council take such steps as will bring about an amendment covering the omission.

#### AUSTRALIAN SYSTEM OF BALLOT REFORM.

8. The committee recommend the agitation of the Australian system of "ballot reform" by the workers of America until it has been adopted by all the States.

## ARMY MUSICIANS.

9. Committee believe the practice of United States army bands furnishing music for private entertainments is a gross injustice to the Musicians' Unions throughout the country, and that the attention of the Government be called to the same through resolutions to be presented to Congress expressing the indignation of the Federation of Labor at this practice and insist upon it being discontinued.

## STRIKE ASSESSMENTS.

10. The matter of strike assessments having been submitted to a vote and approved, thus establishing a fund for the assistance of affiliated organizations in difficulty, your committee recommend that the portion of the report bearing on this matter be referred to the Committee on Constitution for the formulation of a plan for the management, detail and distribution of the same.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

N. R. HYSELL, Chairman.  
GEO. JOSELYN,  
WM. J. CANNON,  
H. J. SKEFFINGTON,  
ROBERT Y. OGG, Secretary.

On motion it was decided to receive the report and take it up *seriatim* for consideration.

Recommendation No. 1, on "Eight Hours," on motion of Mr. Foster, was adopted, and the appointment of a Special Committee of Seven was ordered.

Recommendation No. 2 on the subject of an "International Labor Congress during the World's Fair," was adopted, with the amendment that the incoming Executive Council have charge of the arrangements.

Recommendation No. 3, on "Europe and Eight Hours," adopted, after being amended, so as to instruct the incoming Executive Council to draft suitable resolutions expressing our delight at the action of the workers of Europe in this matter.

Recommendation No. 4 was agreed to.

Recommendation No. 5, in regard to "Alien Contract Labor," was recommitted to the Committee.

Recommendation No. 6, on the "Chinese Exclusion Act," was concurred in.

Recommendation No. 7, on the "Census and the Unemployed," was concurred in.

Recommendation No. 8, on "Ballot Reform," it was ordered that the words "Australian system of ballot reform," be inserted.

Recommendation No. 9, on "Army Musicians," adopted.

Recommendation No. 10, on "Strike Assessments," concurred in and referred to the Committee on Constitution.

The report of the Committee on President's report, as amended, was then adopted as a whole.

The Committee on Constitution reported progress, and asked leave to retire to complete their work. Agreed to.

The Committee on Organization reported as follows:

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

1. In regard to assisting struggling unions in extending their organizations. (This recommendation was recommitted to the Committee, reported on in better form, and adopted the following day.)

## ORGANIZERS.

2. That in conformity with the report of the Committee on Organization, at the St. Louis Convention, the system of appointing organizers in the various cities of the country be continued, in order to effect the organization of the Working People of America on the Trade Union basis. Your committee also recommend in this connection that when such organizers have been authorized, by the proper authority of the Federation, to perform labor for our cause, that their legitimate expenses be paid by the Federation upon the approval of the President of the Federation of the itemized account of expenses rendered by such organizers.

## DUAL ORGANIZATION IN ONE TRADE.

3. That the incoming Executive Council be instructed by this Convention to make a persistent effort to bring about an amalgamation of all dual organizations existing in any one trade, and especially so of any that may exist in the case of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

## RELATIONS TO OTHER LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

4. That hereafter all conferences by the Executive Officers of the Federation, with the Executive Officers of the Knights of Labor in relation to Trade Union Organizations, or the mutual interchange and recognition of working cards shall cease.

## CONCLUSION.

5. That the recommendations contained in this report be not only carefully considered by the Convention, but that the delegates be instructed to bring the same to the attention of every Local Union connected with their various organizations.

Respectfully submitted,  
W. J. DILLON, Chairman.  
DAVID ROSS,  
CHAS. L. WRIGHT,  
HENRY EMRICH,  
JOHN B. LENNON, Secretary,  
Committee.

On motion it was decided to receive the report, and take it up section by section for consideration.

Recommendation No. 2, in regard to "Organizers," was adopted.

Recommendation No. 3, in regard to "Dual Organizations in one Trade," was adopted.

Recommendation No. 4, in regard to "Relations to Other Labor Organizations," mo-

tion was made to refer the subject to a special committee of five to prepare an address to the public, stating the position of this Convention. Amended that the President of this Convention be one of the committee. The motion as amended was agreed to.

Recommendation No. 5, as to "Conclusion," was approved.

On motion the report of the Committee on Organization, as amended, was adopted as a whole.

Mr. Foster announced that a mass meeting would be held in Faneuil Hall to-night, and all the delegates are invited. Invitation accepted.

The Committee on Finance reported progress.

The minutes of the previous afternoon's session were read and adopted.

The Secretary of the Federation, Mr. P. J. McGuire, then presented the following report:

#### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 12, 1889.

To the Delegates of the Ninth Annual Session of the American Federation of Labor, in Convention at Boston, Mass.:

Fellow Workers: By virtue of my office as Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, it is one of my duties to make a report to this Convention. But as the duties of my office are but few and chiefly advisory, and not of an administrative character, my report must necessarily be brief. In fact, the office of Secretary itself, in its present form, makes the Secretary largely a mere figure-head. Hence the report I now make will be confined to a few statements and recommendations I deem worthy of your consideration.

The report of President Gompers covers all matters of general and detailed interest, and fully meets my approbation, and the report of Treasurer Emrich will show the financial standing of the American Federation of Labor.

On the adjournment of the St. Louis convention, I at once attended to the preparation and publication of the proceedings, and when completed, were promptly distributed by President Gompers through his office. For the past year I have been in receipt of a number of letters, asking for information as to the workings of the Federation; such letters have been referred to President Gompers for his attention. In this and other ways I have answered quite a number of communications—in the main I have conducted the correspondence with Mr. T. V. Powderly and the executive officers of the Knights of Labor and the various railroad employees' organizations, and arranged for the several conferences which so far have been held between the executive officers of the railroad men and the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. The chief object of these conferences was to secure harmonious co-operation among these various labor bodies, and to secure a concert of action among all wage-workers on the question of reducing the hours of labor. The correspondence in this direction I have with me for your examination. The work I have done in connection with the office of Secretary has been to me a pleasure and a duty and the only recompense I desire is the satisfaction of making this body a power to be respected by all organized labor, and to be feared by all enemies of the working class.

From my knowledge of the work of the President of this body, I feel justified in recommending that suitable office facilities be procured to secure the necessary privacy for the clerical work of the office. I also feel it necessary that the constitution of this body should be so amended as to provide for a Secretary-Treasurer at suitable salary to devote his entire time to the duties of Secretary, and attend to the correspondence and the financial accounts of the American Federation of Labor, and be located in the same office with the President, that they may advise together and act in concert.

I would further recommend that an Agitation Fund be provided for, under control of the American Federation of Labor. Said fund to be raised by a circular appeal for voluntary contributions, issued to all affiliated organizations. This Agitation Fund to be used for the purpose of sending out competent public lecturers to advocate and push the eight-hour movement, and to further the growth and extension of trade-union principles.

I also think it would be most advisable for this Convention to invite John Burns, of London, to pay a visit to this country early next spring, and for time to enter the lecture field in the interest of organized labor, and to remain in it until May 1, 1890.

With thanks to the President and my colleagues of the Executive Council for courtesies extended me in my official capacity as our relations have been always friendly and harmonious.

Respectfully submitted,

P. J. MCGUIRE, Secretary.

The Secretary's report was referred to the Committee on Secretary's Report.

The Treasurer, Mr. H. Emrich, presented his report, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

President Gompers announced the following committee on "Eight Hours":

Committee on Eight Hours—P. F. Fitz-

patrick, John Corcoran, Geo. E. McNeill, W. J. Cannon, W. J. Shields, E. C. Ives and W. T. Roberts.

A telegram from Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Washington, D. C., of the American Sabbath Union, in regard to Sunday labor in the District of Columbia, was referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution offered by Mr. Enrich to have English and German speakers sent out was referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution offered by Mr. Reid, in regard to ship companies, etc., was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Moved to suspend the rules in regard to adjournment, so to allow time for introducing resolutions. Lost by a vote of 29 for to 22 against, not having the two-thirds vote necessary to suspend the rules.

Adjourned until 2 P. M.

### THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 12, 1889.

The afternoon session was held in the Common Council Chamber and opened at 2 P. M. President Gompers in the chair; P. J. McGuire, Secretary. Roll-call showed the following absentees:

Absentees—Eagan, Curran and Adams.

Messrs. Fitzpatrick, Corcoran and E. C. Ives asked to be excused from acting on the Committee on Eight Hours, inasmuch as they are now engaged on other committees. Excuses granted. Messrs. Daley, H. M. Ives and David Ross were appointed to fill the vacancies.

Resolutions were then offered by the parties following and referred to the committees specified:

Resolutions from Delegates Gompers, Joscelyn, Lyons (2 resolutions) and from the delegates of the International Typographical Union were referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolutions from Delegates Morrissey, Kurzenknebe, Harris, Skeffington, Dillon and Corcoran referred to the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolutions from Delegates McIver and Kurzenknebe referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution from Delegate Fellerman, referred to Committee on Grievances.

Resolutions from Delegate McNeill, referred to Special Committee on Eight Hours.

Resolution offered by delegates of International Typographical Union and of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, to reduce the per capita tax was referred to Committee on Constitution; also resolution from Delegate Cavanaugh was referred to the same committee.

Resolution from Delegates Coffey and McIver, referred to the special committee on relations with other organizations.

The following resolution introduced by Mr. McNeill, in behalf of the distressed working people of Lynn, and under a suspension of

the rules, on motion offered by Mr. Hysell, the resolution was adopted unanimously.

#### SYMPATHY WITH THE LYNN SUFFERERS.

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor express its most sincere sympathy for the several thousand boot and shoe workers of Lynn, Mass., who have been deprived of their opportunities of obtaining employment at their trade, and have in many instances suffered even the loss of their homes and household effects by the disastrous conflagration which has recently destroyed the business portion of that city; and

RESOLVED, That this Convention recommend to the several bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L. that they tender to the sufferers by said fire such financial assistance as their circumstances will permit.

The privilege of a seat on the floor as a spectator was granted John McQuaide, of the Boston Laborers' Union.

Privilege was granted to the Committees on Boycotts and Constitution to retire to complete their report.

Committee on Constitution asked leave to refer certain subjects now in their hands to the Committee on Resolutions. Hysell raised a point of order against granting leave. Point of order decided by the President as well taken, and the subjects referred to it was decided should remain in the hands of the Committee on Constitution to be reported by them.

The Committees on Constitution and Labels reported progress.

A communication from the Railroad employees of Boston was received and referred.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The Committee on Secretary's Report offered the following:

Boston, Mass., Dec. 12, 1889.  
To the Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Report of the Secretary beg leave to report the following:

1. We concur in the recommendation of our worthy Secretary, that the Constitution

of the American Federation of Labor should be so amended as to provide for a Secretary-Treasurer at suitable salary, who shall be located in the same office with the President, and we therefore recommend that the Committee on Constitution be instructed to prepare the necessary amendments to the Constitution for said purpose.

2. We recommend that John Burns, of London, should be invited to pay a visit to this country early in Spring of 1890, and lecture under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor in the interest of the trade union movement.

3. We recommend that the Executive Board issue an appeal for voluntary contributions to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation, in order to cover the expense of sending Mr. Burns and other lecturers into the field to push the short hour and trade union propaganda.

Respectfully submitted,  
FRANK K. POSTER, Chairman.  
HUGO MILLER, Secretary.  
J. T. ELLIOTT,  
DANIEL HARRIS,  
J. G. CLINKARD, Committee.

Mr. Fildew moved the report of the committee be received and considered section by section. So ordered.

Recommendation No. 1, providing for a Secretary-Treasurer, on motion was adopted.

Recommendation No. 2, inviting John Burns to visit America, on motion was adopted.

Recommendation No. 3, to provide for an Agitation Fund, on motion was adopted.

Moved, that the report of the Committee on Secretary's Report be adopted as a whole. So ordered.

The Committee on President's Report reported progress.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows, and action was taken as herein noted:

To the Officers and Members:

Your Committee on Resolutions considered the matters referred to them and recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

##### LABOR PRESS.

In the matter of the Labor Press, on the resolution offered by Mr. Emrich, the committee favor the following:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation recognizes the power of printers' ink, and earnestly urges that the labor press be liberally supported by trades unionists, and that they, in turn, push the circulation of labor papers among the people not connected with organized labor.

Adopted.

##### EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY LAW.

In the matter of extending to other States the principle of the employers' liability law

now on the statute books of Massachusetts, as proposed by Mr. McNeill, we submit the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the principles of the Employers' Liability Bill of Massachusetts ought to be adopted in every State and every employer ought to be liable for personal injuries received by his employe in the usual discharge of his duties, while obeying the orders of the superintendent or foreman over him.

Adopted.

##### WORKING OF TRADE UNIONS.

We report favorably on the following resolution offered by H. M. Ives:

WHEREAS, The Bureaus of Labor Statistics of some of the States have devoted a volume of their reports to investigations made of the workings of trade unions and their effect on the moral and material welfare of their members.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor requests the Bureaus of Labor Statistics of all States where established to conduct similar investigations and publish the results of their reports.

RESOLVED, further, that we urge the labor unions, and societies of the several States to adopt resolutions favoring such investigations, and appoint committees to wait upon the commissioners and show the propriety of carrying out the purpose of these resolutions.

Adopted.

##### CHILD LABOR.

In the matter of child labor, which was recommitted to the Committee on Resolutions as a substitute for the resolution offered by Mr. Von der Heyden, we report the following:

RESOLVED, That we urge the abolition of child labor in the mills, factories and stores, before the age of fourteen years.

Adopted.

##### LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

The Committee on Resolutions report favorably and recommend adoption of the following resolution, offered by Mr. Stippich:

RESOLVED, That the President of this Federation requests the officers of the various national and international unions connected with this body, to urge their respective local unions to take a more general interest in their respective city and town central labor organizations, and affiliate with them by sending delegates from their respective unions. Also, that the President cause circulars to be printed urging the necessity of unions not having a national organization, but still working under charters from the American Federation of Labor, to be represented in their various local central labor bodies.

Adopted.

##### INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION.

The committee report adversely on the following resolution offered by Mr. Harris:

To the Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

At a regular meeting of the C. L. Federation of N. Y. it was

RESOLVED, That we request the American Federation of Labor to energetically assist in the formation of a Political Labor Party, whereby workingmen may have repre-



sentatives of their own class who will enact such legislative measures in the interest of labor, and also to act in conjunction with the K. of L., in this matter, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to accomplish this end, we recommend the establishment of Federal Labor Unions in every assembly district of the United States, to be composed solely of wage workers who reside in said assembly districts.

FURTHER RESOLVED, That we, the C. L. F. of N. Y., do hereby instruct our delegate to the Convention of the A. F. of L. to lay this matter before the Convention.

Report of committee was concurred in and the above resolution was declared lost.

#### IMPORT DUTY ON CIGARS.

Committee report adversely on the following:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request Congress to increase the duty on imported cigars.

Report concurred in and resolution declared lost.

In regard to the communication of A. Vinette, Los Angeles, Cal., the committee recommend it be referred to the incoming Executive Council.

Amended that the communication be received and filed. So ordered.

#### FINANCIAL AID RENDERED.

Committee report a substitute for the following resolution from Mr. Emrich:

RESOLVED, In order to ascertain to what extent the calls of the Executive Council for voluntary contributions in aid of struggling organizations have been responded to, be it

RESOLVED, That the President is instructed to report to this Convention what organizations have contributed towards assisting such organizations, and how much in each case.

The committee recommend adoption of the following as a substitute for Mr. Emrich's resolution:

RESOLVED, That all organizations receiving material aid as a result of an appeal made by the American Federation of Labor be required to report to the financial officer of the American Federation the total amount of such aid, and the names and amounts received from each body contributing to such aid.

Above substitute adopted.

#### ALIEN CONTRACT LABOR.

The committee recommend the endorsement of the following memorial presented by the delegates of the Granite Cutters' National Union:

To the Trade and Labor Organizations of the United States of America:

Brethren: We respectfully call your attention to the flagrant attempt now being made to defeat the working of the Contract Labor Law by the syndicate who built the Capitol Building at Austin, Tex. This syndicate is composed of Senator Farwell, one of the Senators from Illinois, Col. Abner Taylor, one of the Representatives from the same

State, and others. Gus Wilkie was the so-called contractor who did the work, and on the refusal of our Union to allow its members to cut convict quarried stone, he sent an agent to Scotland and imported a number of granite cutters from Aberdeen. After their arrival in this country suits were entered in the United States Courts in Texas, for violation of the Contract Labor Laws; these suits have recently been decided against Wilkie, he pleading guilty, and he was fined \$1000 in each case, aggregating \$64,000. The Judge granted him a stay of proceedings for twelve months, which means practically an acquittal, if the labor organizations of the country do not vigorously protest against the interference of the Government with the law to shield those law breakers. Gus Wilkie, while nominally the contractor, we have reason to believe was only the agent of the syndicate.

When the case in the Austin Courts was decided against Gus Wilkie by his pleading guilty and thus shielding the capitol syndicate, it was thought that there were some reasons governing his action, and it has become evident that there is a scheme amongst the gang of schemers with whom he is connected to defeat the law and render null and void the decision of the court. The following is a copy of the decision of the court:

In the United States Circuit Court, 5th circuit and western district of Texas, at Austin, August 16, 1889,

In cases 2020, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, of the United States vs. Gus Wilkie and Abner Taylor, it is agreed that a jury is waived and the cases are submitted to the Court as to law and the facts in each case. It is further agreed and stipulated that defendant admits in evidence plaintiff's proofs, and that in case of judgments the defendant shall have stay of execution for twelve (12) months, to enable him to apply for relief to the authorities at Washington, and in case negotiations for relief are pending not closed at the end of twelve (12) months, a further stay of six (6) months is granted, and that this stay of execution is to be carried into each judgment in each case.

The United States by

A. J. EVANS,

U. S. Att'y West District Texas.  
ROBERTSON WILLIAMS & D. W. DOOM,  
Attorneys for Defendants.

The United States, No. 2020, vs. Gus Wilkie and Abner Taylor:

This day, August 16, 1889, this cause came on for trial, and thereupon came the parties, A. J. Evans, U. S. attorney for the plaintiff, and the defendants by their attorneys, Robertson Williams and Doom, and both parties announced themselves ready for trial, a stipulation waiving a jury having been filed, the plaintiff dismisses her suit as to defendant Abner Taylor; and defendant, Gus Wilkie, now here withdraws his demurrer and pleads heretofore filed and admits plaintiff's proofs and says nothing in bar of plaintiff's right to have her judgment as prayed for; it is therefore adjudged, ordered and decreed by the Court that the defendant Abner Taylor go



hence without day, and that the plaintiff have and recover from the defendant Gus Wilkie the sum of one thousand dollars and all costs of suit; and that plaintiff have her execution therefor, provided that such execution, as per agreement, shall be stayed for twelve months, to enable defendant to apply for relief at Washington, and should negotiations for relief not be closed at the end of twelve months, then a further stay of six months is given.

Endorsed, No. 2020, the United States vs. Gus Wilkie, et al.  
Agreement and judgment filed August 16, 1889  
D. H. HART, Clerk.

The United States of America, Western District of Texas.

I, D. H. Hart, Clerk of the Circuit Court of the United States, in and for the Western District of Texas, at Austin, hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the agreement and judgment in No. 2020 and others of the United States vs. Gus Wilkie et al, as the same appears on file and of record in this Court.

Witness my hand and seal of said Court, at Austin, this, the 19th day of August, 1889.  
(Seal.) D. H. HART, Clerk.

It is thus evident that the syndicate relying on their political influence propose working on the authorities in Washington to endeavor to set aside the law, and their scape goat, Wilkie, go free. We are informed, but cannot vouch for its truth, that Wilkie has made over all of his property to his wife to avoid the penalty should he not have sufficient influence in Washington (about a hundred years hence, when the authorities will descend to listen to the cases) to obtain relief, but should he be living at the time there is another penalty, if he has not the cash, and that is imprisonment.

We look upon the stay of proceedings as an outrage. Wilkie pleaded guilty, and judgments were given against him, yet he is allowed practically to go free and laugh at the law, but if some poor starving fellow steals a loaf there is no "stay of proceedings" granted to him; he has no syndicate with political influence and capital to back him and he must suffer.

This is a question in which every labor organization in the country is interested, and we call on all to immediately take steps to counteract the influence of Farwell, Taylor, Wilkie & Co. with the administration, and see that the law is not evaded.

Please oblige by signing the accompanying protest, and forward it to President Harrison, at Washington.

Yours fraternally,  
JOSIAH B. DYER,  
N. U. Secretary G. C. N. U.

To the President of the United States of America:

Sir: We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, hereby call your attention to the attempt now being made to defeat the ends of justice in the case of The United States vs. Gus Wilkie and Abner Taylor, just decided in the United States Circuit Court, Fifth Circuit and Western District of Texas, at Austin. The defendant, Wilkie, pleaded guilty, and the Judge fined him the full penalty and costs for violation of the law pro-

hibiting the importation of foreign labor under contract, but granted a stay of proceedings for twelve months, to enable him to apply to the authorities at Washington for relief from the penalties. We look upon this as an attempt to defeat the law, and, if it is possible, to render it null and void of effect, and therefore we most earnestly and emphatically protest against any interference with the law by the authorities at Washington, there being no provision in said law that we are aware of to warrant any such interference. We call upon you, as the Chief Executive of the Nation, to see that the law is not tampered with, but carried out to the full extent, the same as if the defendant was a person without the influence of a syndicate backing him up in his law-breaking schemes, as we have reason to believe he is being backed up by certain interested and influential persons.

We hope you will give due consideration to this protest and not interfere or allow of any interference with the law, and the decision of the Judge, but use your influence to see that the law is fully carried out, and the penalties collected by those whose duty it is to see that they are enforced.

Report concurred in and the memorial adopted.

#### PROTECTION TO SAILORS.

Committee on Resolutions recommend the adoption of the following resolution presented by Mr. Reid:

\* WHEREAS, The shipowning fraternity of this and other maritime nations, whilst looking after their own personal aggrandizement, have so neglected the condition of their employees, that the condition of the mercantile marine of to-day is truly deplorable; and,

WHEREAS, The legislative action of the governments of various maritime nations have only tended to enslave the burden carriers of the ocean and make them the dupes and victims of boarding-house keepers, shipping agents, land sharks, and greedy shipowners; and,

WHEREAS, The nefarious and inhuman practice of overloading and carrying upper deck cargoes, sending rotten vessels to sea, and compelling employees to live in forecables and berths in an entirely unsanitary condition, and the supplying of vessels with food of the worst quality on which our mercantile marine are forced to live.

WHEREAS, The International Marine Conference is now in session at Washington, D. C., for the purpose of framing International Laws for the guidance of vessels at sea; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in meeting assembled, urge upon the delegates to the International Marine Conference the adoption of an "International Load Line," an act relating to the "Seaworthiness of Vessels," the "Manning of Vessels," and the "Competence of Crews."

WHEREAS, The sailors and firemen are not represented at the International Maritime Conference; be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. request the Maritime Conference to use their influence to get the sailors and firemen represented in all future conventions.

Report concurred in and resolution adopted.

The communication from James F. Reed, Steubenville, Ohio, on recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions was referred to the Committee on President's Report.

The communication of D. C. Leets, in regard to the extension of the census enumeration, on recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions was referred to the Committee on President's Report.

President Gompers appointed the following:

Committee on Relations with other Labor Organizations—F. K. Foster, Charles Kassell, J. T. Elliott, R. Y. Ogg and Chris. Evans.

Moved to adjourn until December 13, 1889, at 9 A. M. So ordered.

Adjourned.

## FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 13, 1889.

The Convention was called to order at 9 A. M., and met in the Council Chamber. President Gompers in the chair; P. J. McGuire, Secretary.

The following committees were excused to enable them to attend to the business of their committees: Eight Hours, Finance, Resolutions, and Relations with other Organizations.

On motion, the following committee of three to attend Delegate Wm. Newroth, who is dangerously sick in bed; Committee: Kasell, Golding and Chikard.

On roll-call the following absentees were noted:

Absentees—Skeffington, Fildew, Flemming, Shields, Kliver, Hysell, Fitzpatrick, Daley, Reed, Howard, Egan, Lennon, Seidel, Vaughan, H. M. Ives, E. C. Ives, Sleater, Cavanaugh, Steinman, Waite, McNeill, Curran.

Minutes of morning and afternoon sessions of previous day read and approved as read.

Communications from Clinton Rosevelt, New York; Chas. Duke, Perryville, Md.; Dan McLaughlin, received and filed.

Resolution from Mr. Clinkard referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Committee on Finance reported progress.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Committee on Resolutions made a partial report, as follows:

#### WAGES OF GOVERNMENT PRINTERS.

The committee reports favorably on the following resolution offered by the delegates of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The printers of the Government office at Washington were compelled to submit to a reduction of wages by an Act of Congress, in 1877; and therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declares its desire that the Congress of the United States shall re-

store wages in the Government Printing Office to the rate prevailing previous to 1877, and endorses the efforts of the Typographical Union No. 101, of Washington, D. C., to secure the same.

Report of committee concurred in and resolution adopted.

#### CONVICT LABOR.

The committee report favorably on the following resolution offered by George Joselyn:

The Saddle and Harness Makers of America desire the co-operation of all affiliated trades in their efforts to protect themselves from the evils induced by competition with the products of the prisons of our land, and would urge upon the delegates the necessity of either regulating or abolishing this crying evil which compels honest men in the struggle for a living to compete with the labor of convicts clothed, fed and housed by the several States in this Union.

Report concurred in and resolution adopted.

#### CONTINUITY OF A. F. OF L.

The committee report favorably on the following resolution offered by Samuel Gompers: RESOLVED, That the continuity of the American Federation of Labor be recognized and dated from the year 1881, in all future documents issued.

Report concurred in and resolution adopted.

#### IRON-CLAD CONTRACTS.

The committee report adversely on the following resolution offered by Mr. Lyons:

WHEREAS, It is known that certain employers of labor in the various parts of our country are forcing their employees to sign away their rights as American citizens,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demand of the various legislatures that they enact a law making such methods as are practiced in North Adams, Mass., unlawful.

Moved to concur; amended to recommit to the committee with instructions to declare the position of the Federation upon intimidation of employees by means of iron-clad contracts. This resolution provoked a lengthy and very interesting debate on the propriety of asking

the State to interfere in cases of this kind. The motion of Mr. Foster to recommit was lost, and the main question was then ordered. The yeas and nays were ordered, and the resolution was adopted and the report of the committee nonconcurring in.

Yeas—Barnes, Campbell, Cavanaugh, Coffey, Corcoran, Dillon, Evans, Fellerman, Flood, Flemming, Gray, Goodwin, Hysell, Joscelyn, Killgallon, Lyons, Mahoney, Morrissey, McIver, Ogg, Plunkett, Ryan, Roberts, Skeffington, Schaeffer, Smythe, Sloan, Stipich, Sleater, Weaver, Wright—Ayes, 31.

Nays—Blackmore, Clinkard, Delabar, Emrich, Elliot, Foster, Fildew, Golding, Grant, Harris, Heffernan, Kassel, Kenneson, Kurzenkabe, Lennon, Lbadie, Linehan, Miller, Reed, Steinman, Seidel, Von der Heyden, Vaughan, Wade, Werner—Nays, 25.

Absent—Curran, Cannon, Daley, Egan, Fitzpatrick, Howard, C. E. Ives, H. M. Ives, Kliver, Kirchner, Martin, McNeill, Neuroth, Ross, Shields, Waite—Total, 15.

Not Voting—Compers.

Resolutions and communications were offered and referred as follows:

By J. Grant (referred to Committee on Eight Hours), J. B. Lennon (referred to Committee on Constitution), E. Bohm (referred to Committee on Organization), Chas. B. Sloan (to Committee on Grievances), J. S. Kirchner (to Committee on Resolutions), J. S. Kirchner (to Committee on Labels and Boycotts). Daniel Harris presented two resolutions (one was referred to Committee on Organization and the other to the Committee on Resolutions).

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

The Committee on President's Report presented an additional report as follows:

##### ALIEN CONTRACT LABOR.

1. In the matter of alien contract labor, referred back to the committee, we recommend the adoption of the following preamble and resolutions:

WHEREAS, It is currently reported and generally believed that there are serious defects in the Federal law regulating the importation of foreign labor under contract; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates of the Ninth Annual Session of the A. F. of L. that we favor such amendments to said law as to make it effective, and carry out the will of the people; therefore, be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is hereby requested and instructed to present a properly authenticated copy of the above resolutions to the Fifty-First United States Congress now in session, and to support said resolution with petitions in and thereof from local unions connected with the Federated movement in the United States, and to do all in the power of said council to secure the action demanded from the government.

##### FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS.

2. The committee recommended that all matters connected with the farmers and farmers' organization be left in the hands of the incoming Executive Council.

##### K. OF L. CONFERENCE.

3. Committee recommend that that portion of the report under the caption "Conferences with the Knights," be referred to the committee which has already been appointed to deal with the subject matter therein connected.

##### RECOMMENDATIONS.

4. As the matter contained in the recommendation of the President with reference to necessary changes in the Constitution, also those referring to general organizers, have already been touched upon by resolutions handed in and referred to proper committees we deem it unnecessary for this committee to make any further mention thereof.

##### CONCLUSION.

5. The committee heartily concur in the sentiments expressed by the President in his concluding paragraph, and hope that each delegate here present, and every member connected with the Federation, will earnestly strive to carry out to the fullest degree the substance of those remarks.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

N. R. HYSSELL,  
GEO. JOSCELYN,  
H. J. SKEFFINGTON,  
ROBERT Y. OGG,

Secretary.

On motion, recommendations 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 were concurred in and the report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

The Committee on Organization reported as follows:

Boston, Mass., Dec. 13, 1889.

Gentlemen of the Convention:—Your committee most respectfully submit the following:

1. On the question referred back to the committee we recommend that while it is the duty of all affiliated bodies of the Federation to do all in their power to strengthen all sister organizations, yet your committee believing that the power of the Federation can be most surely demonstrated to the working people of America, by making during the coming year a special effort in behalf of organizations whose need of assistance is most pressing, we therefore recommend that the convention instruct all affiliated bodies to make such special effort to maintain and build up the Unions of the Boot and Shoe Makers', Coal Miners', Bakers', Furniture Workers' and Sailors' and Firemen's Organization.

2. Your committee also report favorably on the following resolution from the National Union of the United Brewery Workmen:

WHEREAS, The United Brewery Bosses of the United States have been attempting for years to encroach upon the right of organization of the Journeymen Brewers;

WHEREAS, By those manipulations the National Union of the United Brewery Workmen of the U. S. has been severely crippled and a number of its Local Unions have been ruined;

RESOLVED, That the Ninth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. requests all its affiliated organizations to assist the journeymen brewers in re-organizing the disbanded Unions, especially those of Milwaukee, Chicago, Philadelphia, Kansas City, Boston, etc.

RESOLVED, To make a determined effort to assist the journeymen brewers in organizing Unions of their trade wherever they are not yet in existence.

3. On the following from Delegate Emrich your committee considers the subject partially covered by the report of the Committee on the Secretary's Report, but we recommend that a German, as well as English speaker, be sent out.

#### EMRICH'S RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to communicate with local central bodies and national organizations in order to arrange an agitation trip through the country, for an English and a German speaker, to begin in January, 1900.

4. Your committee have in their former report covered the question contained in the following request submitted by Delegate McIver, and therefore submit nothing further.

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Federation of New York City be requested to exert its utmost influence to unite the Tile-Layers' Unions of that city in one Union.

5. On the communication from the Metal Workers' Union of North America, asking assistance to organize, your Committee find in their Constitution, Art. V, Sec. 2, that workers already organized and members of this Federation are interested, your committee therefore recommend that the communication be referred to the incoming Executive Council, with instructions to consult with the Moulders, Iron and Steel Workers, and all interested bodies, before taking action on the request of the metal workers.

Respectfully submitted,

W. J. DILLON, Chairman.  
CHAS. L. WRIGHT.  
HENRY EMRICH.  
JOHN B. LENNON,  
DAVID ROSS.

On motion, recommendations 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 were concurred in, and the report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

The Convention adjourned to meet at 2 P. M.

Adjourned.

## FOURTH DAY.—Afternoon Session.

Convention called to order at 2 P. M. and assembled in the Common Council Chamber, President Gompers in the chair, P. J. McGuire, Secretary.

Roll-call showed the following list of absentees:

Absentees—Curran, Egan, Kassel, Lyons, Neuroth, Ryan and Waite.

Communication received from Delegate Kurzenkabe (referred to Committee on Resolutions), from Delegate Smythe (referred to Committee on Organization).

It was ordered that no further resolutions can be introduced after the close of this day's session without unanimous consent.

Moved that the hour of 3:30 P. M. be set for hearing the report on eight hours.

Adopted.

The Committee on Constitution then presented its report. The report was read and acted on section by section.

Mr. Foster, on behalf of the Mayor, presented an invitation for the delegates to take a boat ride around Boston Harbor, and inspect the public institutions. On motion of Delegate Lennon, the President was instructed to write the Mayor politely, and explain that

owing to pressure of business the Convention regrets it cannot accept the invitation. Agreed to.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

The consideration of the report of the Committee on Constitution was then resumed.

The proposition of the committee to amend by inserting the words "County and State Federations," after the words "Trade and Labor Unions," in second line of Art. I, was amended by Delegate Foster, so as to provide for admission of County Federations only. Delegate Foster's amendment and the report of the committee were finally put to a vote after a lengthy discussion on the advisability of having only National and International Unions represented at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Foster's amendment was lost by a majority vote, and the report of the committee was non-concurred in by a vote of 13 in favor of the report, and 44 against it. Section 1 of Article stands unaltered.

## SPECIAL REPORT ON THE EIGHT-HOUR QUESTION.

The time having arrived for the special order of the hour, viz.: the report of the committee on the "Eight-hour Question." The report of the committee was then read by Geo. E. McNeill, and amid prolonged cheers and tumultuous applause it was declared adopted by a unanimous rising vote.

## REPORT.

The organized forces of the grand army of labor in all the centers of industry in America, in England and Europe, have determined to secure a reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day. And the only question at issue in labor circles is when and how this result shall be reached. Your committee, in canvassing the question of time and method, have come to the conclusion that the suggestions of President Gompers, and the action of the Federation at its last convention, are founded upon historical precedent and logical reasoning.

In presenting this report, your committee feel it to be their duty to call attention to the fact that the hours of labor have been reduced in some of the industries from 16 to 8 per day, with great benefit to the wage workers and the people at large; that in other industries, where large capital is invested and the most improved machinery introduced, the hours of labor were reduced from 14 and 12 to 10 hours per day, resulting in great public benefit.

These reductions have occurred not only in this but in other countries, notably in Australia where the hours of labor were reduced in 1856 to eight hours by some of the trades, and similar action is now intended in most, if not all of the industries.

In England the hours of labor were reduced in the great textile industries as early as 1847 to ten hours per day, and in those industries, as in all others, these reductions have not resulted in stagnation, but, on the contrary, have increased the purchasing power of the day's work of those receiving the benefits of increased leisure.

If, then, wages have increased with each succeeding reduction of the hours of labor, then the question worthy of consideration in a convention of wage workers is: How far can these reductions continue and yet produce the same results? The answer to this proposition is not left alone to experiment, but can be foretold in time to avert a great calamity. But, even if left to experiment, the great benefit of the successful results is worth

all it will cost to try to reach the minimum of working hours and the maximum of wages. that a reduction of time to eight hours per day would result in increased wages and increased production, without increasing the cost of the product is evident from the fact that the reduced hours of labor would require an increase of the working force sufficient to produce the same amount as now in ten hours.

The increase in working force would necessitate the increase of the plant, thus attracting into the army of the employed the vast horde of demoralized and half-starved unemployed. The increase of the number of permanently employed will extend the market in this country alone to at least 2,000,000 of consumers.

As production is determined by the demand, and demand is governed by the number of consumers and the condition of civilization; and as civilization is the result of the opportunities of the masses of mankind to sell their labor or its products, the highest civilization being in that place where the demand for labor is regular and strong, then that measure is most productive of common good which will set more men working and more workers thinking, and which will increase the demand for more and better products.

Invested capital is opposed to the reduction of the hours of labor, not because capitalists think that wages will be reduced, but because they know the percentage of profit per dollar and per man will be diminished through the increased wages that will follow reduced hours.

To try to arrest the natural evolution of the human race by the unwise policy of keeping down wages is simply a movement to limit the market, thus restricting more production.

Your committee are agreed that existing conditions will not in our judgment justify the hope that at this time all the crafts are prepared to successfully enforce the eight-hour system on the first of May, 1890, although many of the trades are now ready, and many more will be by the time specified for the inauguration of this, the greatest of industrial reforms.

We, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council shall have power to select such trade or trades from those affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as shall, in their judgment, be best prepared to achieve success, and that each union in the Federation be requested to assess their members 10 cents per week for so many weeks as shall be necessary to secure the short-hour day; payment upon such assessments to commence no later than March 1, 1890.

That all trades affiliated with the American Federation of Labor not now working the eight-hour day, or between whom and their employers existing contracts may prevent, shall appoint committees to confer with their employers and, if possible, secure a reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day, and that the Executive Council shall appropriate for their use, if needed, such a sum or sums as can be spared from the money received for the trade or trades selected by the Executive Council.

During the past year the efforts of President Gompers and the Executive Council to forward the eight-hour movement are worthy of the highest commendation.

Through extensive correspondence they have enlisted the sympathy of business men, manufacturers, professional men, ministers of the gospel and economic thinkers, and have endeavored to secure the co-operation of the Knights of Labor in this movement.

President Gompers in his letter to the General Assembly of that organization, set forth, in an able, clear and comprehensive manner, the position of the Federation, and urged them to "throw their lot with us without restraint or reservation." This communication from our official representative was answered by an attempt to evade their responsibility, on the plea that no "plan" had been suggested, and, while professing their adherence to the eight-hour movement, the indorse the absurd and preposterous plan of their General Master Workman, thus confessing their impotency of power and insincerity of purpose.

Gentlemen of the Convention: As the representatives of the organized labor of this Republic, and of the Continent of America, the supreme day of success devolves upon us!

In this movement toward the emancipation of labor there is no such word as fail. The longing hearts of the underpaid and unemployed beat responsive to our demand. Women weary of life and children robbed of the sweet delights of childhood groan and cry under the heavy burdens of remorseless poverty. Age unduly hastened by ill-requited toil, trembling in want, prays for our success. The monarchial and industrial serfs of Europe look toward these shores with aspiring hopes that here, where men are sovereign in political power, they may be freemen in their economic and social relations. This movement for less hours of toil, more hours of leisure and more wealth for wealth producers, is co-extensive with civilization. To the trades unionists of Great Britain and Europe, marching shoulder to

shoulder with us, we send the exultant shouts of greeting and all hail.

To all who love liberty and are loyal to the principles of free government; to all who look forward to an increased wealth more widely distributed; to all lovers of the human race everywhere; to union men and to those not now under the banner of organized labor, we appeal, in the name of justice and humanity, of increased wealth and diminished poverty, to concentrate their energies upon the single issue of the reduction of the hours of labor.

EDWARD L. DALEY, Chairman.

W. J. SHIELDS, Secretary.

GEORGE E. McNEILL.

DAVID ROSS.

WILLIAM J. CANNON.

H. M. IVES.

WILLIAM T. ROBERTS.

The address was adopted amid cheers, and by a rising vote. It was decided to send a copy of the address to the trades unions and labor organizations in England and other countries of Europe.

The Committee on Eight Hours further reported favorably on the following resolutions, which were adopted unanimously:

#### EIGHT HOURS ON GOVERNMENT WORK.

That the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be requested to secure the enactment of an eight-hour law in all the States of the Union, which shall provide that all employees of State, city, county and town governments shall work but eight hours per day, whether the work be done directly by the government or by contract.

#### ARREARS OF WAGES DUE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.

We recommend that the Executive Council petition Congress to enact a law extending the statute of limitations so as to enable Government employees, engaged in public service from the year 1877 to the year 1882, inclusive, to recover such portion of their compensation as was denied them by reason of the violation of the existing National eight-hour law.

The following memorial was ordered spread on the minutes:

#### FROM THE GRANITE CUTTERS' NATIONAL UNION.

To the Officers and Members of The American Federation of Labor:

The position of the Granite Cutters' National Union on the Eight-hour question: First, To maintain the stand taken by our Delegate at the St. Louis Convention last year against naming a day for a general strike for eight hours a day, which we hold the naming of the day implies, otherwise the naming of a day is farcial. We are not, as a Union, prepared to demand eight hours per day on the date specified, but believe that our Union will insist on nine hours generally next spring.

Signed,

JAMES GRANT.

JOHN HEFFERNAN,

Delegates.



This completed the work of the special Committee on Eight Hours.

The further consideration of the report of the Committee on Constitution, was then resumed.

#### FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE CONSTITUTION RESUMED.

It was agreed by the Convention that the Secretary of the committee omit the words "County and State" wherever they appear in this report.

On report of the committee it was agreed to strike out the word "Tuesday" and insert "Monday" in Section 1 of Article III, so the Convention will hereafter meet on the second Monday in December.

Section 3 of Article III was amended to add as a tenth committee, a Committee on "Grievances."

Moved to amend Section 3, to strike out "Finance" and insert "Ways and Means." Further amended to insert "Estimating Committee." Substitute offered to insert "Auditing Committee." The two latter motions were lost. The question recurred on the first amendment to have "Ways and Means" Committee. The vote stood 14 for, 29 against. It was declared lost.

On motion of Mr. Lennon, as amended by Mr. Barnes, a new section (Section 4) was offered as an addition to Article III.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall have the power to appoint from the delegates elect to the Convention, three delegates, who shall compose a committee on Finance, and shall meet at the place for holding the Convention three days before the Convention to audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months. The expenses of such committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

After various amendments had been voted down, the new Section 4 was adopted as printed above.

Article IV, Section 2, was amended, on motion of Mr. Lennon, to read:

Sec. 2. The Secretary shall prepare for the use of the Convention printed poll lists containing the number of votes, the delegates National and International Unions are entitled to, and based on the last report made to the office of the Federation.

Adopted.

Section 2. Second line was amended to strike out "one-fifth" and insert "one-tenth."

So ordered.

Article V, Section 1, on report of the committee was amended to add at the end of second line the words, "Who shall Constitute an Executive Council."

Agreed to.

Art. VI, Sec. 1, was reported in a new form by the committee and after agreeing to a few additional amendments the Convention adopted Secs. 1, Art. VI, as it now reads. (See page 9.)

Moved to suspend the order of business in order to take up the report of the Committee on Grievances. Lost by a vote of 22 for, 33 against.

Moved to suspend order of business to hear report of Committee on Resolutions. Lost.

Consideration of report of Committee on Constitution resumed. Report of committee on Secs. 2 and 3 of Art. VI, referred back to committee.

Moved to suspend the rules as to hour of adjournment. Agreed to.

Moved that the Convention remain in session until 7 P. M. So ordered.

Art. VII, Sec. 1, amended to strike out all after the word "any" in third line and insert "trade dispute." Agreed to.

Moved to strike out Sec. 4, Art. VII. So ordered.

Committee on Constitution then reported a new article to be known as Art. VIII, on "Strikes and Lockouts." Sec. 1 of Art. VIII as reported by the committee is as follows:

Sec. 1. The Executive Council shall have the power and are directed to levy a strike assessment of two cents per member, on the 1st of January, 1890, on all national and international bodies under the jurisdiction of the Federation.

A lengthy discussion then ensued on the powers and composition of the American Federation of Labor, the minority contending it was beyond the authority of the Convention and foreign to the federal character of the organization to permit it to levy assessments on the affiliated unions. The majority on the other hand contended that the proposed assessment was to be levied only by consent of the organizations represented, and that something of the character was necessary to make the Federation a power to render aid during the eight-hour struggle and to protect the organizations represented.

Pending a vote, the Convention adjourned at 7 P. M. to meet Dec. 14, 1889, at 9 A. M. Adjourned.

## FIFTH DAY.—Morning Session.

COMMON COUNCIL CHAMBER,  
Boston, Mass., Dec. 14., 1889.

The fifth day's session opened at 9 A. M., President Gompers in the chair, and P. J. McGuire officiating as secretary.

On roll-call the following absentees were noted:

Absentees—Curran, Heffernan, Flood, Daley, Eagan, Ryan, Coffey, McNeill, Clinkard.

By a vote of 32 to 14, the reading of the previous day's minutes were dispensed with.

Moved the rules be amended so the five minute allowance be stricken out, and only two-minute speeches be permitted. Lost by a vote of 24 to 26.

Committee on Constitution resumed its report.

The vote on Sec. 1, Art. VIII, in regard to assessments in strikes and lockouts was ordered by a call for the previous question.

The yeas and nays were called for, and the vote stood:

Ayes.—Barnes, Blackmore, Campbell, Corcoran, Cannon, Clinkard, Dillon, Delabar, Evans, Emrich, Elliott, Fellerman, Flood, Fildev, Flemming, Fitzpatrick, Gray, Gompers, Goodwin, Harris, Hysell, Howard, Joscelyn, Kassell, Kenneson, Killgallon, Kurzenknahe, Kirschner, Kliver, Lyons, Linehan, Miller, Mahoney, Martin, Morrissey, Plunkett, Ross, Roberts, Reed, Steinman, Seidel, Skeffington, Shields, Schaeffer, Smyth, Sloan, Stippich, Sleater, Von der Heyden, Weaver and Wright. Total 51 delegates, representing 1129 votes.

Nays.—Cavanaugh, Foster, Golding, Grant, Heffernan, C. E. Ives, H. M. Ives, Lennon, Labadie, Ogg, Vaughan and Wade. Total, 12 delegates, with 367 votes.

Excused.—McNeill, Ryan and Werner. Total, 3.

Absent.—Curran, Coffey, Daley, Eagan, McIver, Neuroth and Waite. Total, 7.

Art. VIII, Sec. 1, as reported by the Committee has thereupon declared adopted by a vote of 1129 votes in the affirmative, and 367 in the negative.

The Committee on Constitution then reported, as referred back to them, Secs. 2 and 3 of Art. VI, pertaining to the duties of Secretary and Treasurer, and, after amendment, said sections were unanimously adopted in the form published on page 9.

Sec. 3 of Art. VI, on motion of Delegate Lennon, was amended so to fix the salary of the treasurer at \$100 per annum.

Delegate Skeffington moved that that portion of Sec. 3, Art. VI, relating to the duties of the Treasurer be amended so the Treas-

urer be not compelled to be located in the same place as the President and Secretary. Adopted by a vote of 28 for and 16 against.

Mr. Lennon moved that a new section, Sec. 4, be added to Art. VI, viz:

All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

Adopted.

President Gompers announced the vote on the strike assessment, as 1129 in the affirmative, and 367 in the negative.

The consideration of Sec. 2, Art. VIII, was next taken up, and provoked a very animated discussion. The committee reported Sec. 2 as follows:

Sec. 2. In case any National or International body affiliated with this Federation shall order a strike or lockout, and by reason of financial distress it shall become necessary for it to call upon the Federation for aid, the Executive Council if they deem that such organization is entitled to receive such assistance, may make an assessment, not exceeding two cents per member per week, upon every other National or International body so affiliated with the Federation. Provided, That no such assessment for the benefit of any one National or International body shall be extended for a period of more than ten weeks.

Mr. Hysell moved to amend by striking out the word "may" in the seventh line and inserting "shall." Agreed to.

Mr. McNeill moved to amend by striking out the words, "such assessment shall remain in force at the discretion of the Executive Council," and to insert the words, "for a period not exceeding five continuous weeks."

Mr. Delabar offered a further amendment to add the words, "unless otherwise ordered by a general vote of all National and International Unions affiliated."

Mr. McNeill accepted Mr. Delabar's amendment.

Previous question ordered.

Mr. McNeill's amendment was then agreed to, and the section as amended was adopted.

The Sick Committee reported having visited Delegate Neuroth at his room, and, finding him dangerously ill, secured medical aid. Bill of \$4 ordered paid.

The Committee on Constitution reported Sec. 3, Art. VIII as follows:

Sec. 3. In case any National or International body shall fail to comply with the call for an assessment to support strikes or lockouts within 30 days, it shall be debarred from



receiving any such aid until all its arrearages to the strike fund are paid.

Mr. Ross offered the following substitute for Sec. 3 as reported:

Sec. 3. Any National or International organization, or other body connected with this Federation failing to comply with the requirements of Sec. 2 of this Article within a period

of 30 days, shall be suspended, and shall not be reinstated until all arrearages are paid in full.

The hour of adjournment having arrived, the Convention adjourned pending a vote on Mr. Ross' substitute.

Adjourned.

## FIFTH DAY.—Afternoon Session.

The Convention re-assembled at 2 P. M., President Gompers in the chair.

Moved that the roll-call be dispensed with. Carried by a vote of 29 to 20.

Discussion was resumed on Mr. Ross' substitute for Sec. 3 of Art. VIII. The Ross substitute was adopted.

Mr. Ogg moved to further amend by adding the following to Sec. 3 as amended:

Provided, however, that organizations represented in this Convention, whose delegates have been instructed to oppose the levying of an assessment, shall not be liable to suspension until they have acted on the matter at their next national or international convention.

Adopted.

Mr. Fildew moved to add: "That no organization in arrears shall be entitled to pecuniary benefit for the period of three months after all arrears are paid up."

Lost.

The committee reported Sec. 4 as follows:

Sec. 4. Accompanying a call for an assessment shall be a circular from the President of the Federation giving a detailed account of the strike or lockout.

Adopted.

Mr. Lennon offered a new section to be known as Sec. 5, viz:

Sec. 5. No affiliated body of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to benefit from the Strike Fund of the Federation until they have been six months affiliated, have paid six months per capita tax to the Federation and are in good standing.

Adopted.

Committee reported in favor of striking out the word "President" in Sections 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Art. IX wherever it occurred and inserting the word "Secretary."

Agreed to.

Mr. Ogg moved to amend Sec. 1 Art. IX by striking out the words "one-fourth of one cent," and inserting "one-tenth of one cent." Lost by more than a two-thirds vote.

Mr. Blackmore moved to further amend by striking out "one-fourth" and inserting "one-eighth." Lost.

Sec. 5 of Art. IX was amended to read as follows:

Sec. 5. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending of Trade Union speakers from place to place, in the interests of the Federation. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council or speakers engaged by them shall be \$3.50 per day and traveling and hotel expenses.

On motion Sections 6, 7 and 8, of Art. VIII in the old Constitution were stricken out.

Moved to strike out Sec. 1 of Art. X. McNeill moved to amend, so to read:

The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution or the constitutions of affiliated unions.

Adopted.

Moved the Constitution as amended be now adopted as a whole. Carried.

Amended Constitution was declared adopted.

Mr. Cavanaugh moved to adopt the appended resolution to be inserted in the Constitution:

"That all delegates to future conventions of the American Federation of Labor be elected at least two weeks previous to its annual or special sessions, and that all unions entitled to representation will notify the general secretary of such election immediately thereafter."

Adopted.

The Committee on Constitution reported adversely on the following resolutions:

PRESENTED BY J. T. ELLIOTT.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor resume the monthly publication of the "Union Advocate," to commence Jan. 1st, 1890.

PRESENTED BY H. EMRICH.

RESOLVED, That delegates to the Annual Convention, if they so desire, be allowed to use the German language on the floor of the Convention, and that all important official documents be issued in the English and German languages.

Adverse report of committee was accepted and the foregoing resolutions were not adopted. This completed the work of the Committee on Constitution.

Mr. Lennon moved that the salary of the President be \$35 per week.

Mr. Ogg moved to amend that the President's salary be \$1500 per year.

Mr. Ogg's amendment in favor of \$1500 per year prevailed by a vote of 43 to 15.

Moved to fix the salary of the Secretary at \$1500 per year. Motion to amend that it be \$1200 per year. Further amendment was offered that it be \$1000 per year. It was finally decided the salary of the Secretary be fixed at \$1200 per annum.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GRIEVANCES.

The Committee on Grievances reported through their Secretary, Mr. Linchan, and action was taken as follows:

##### CARPENTERS VS. FURNITURE WORKERS.

In the matter of the differences between the carpenters and furniture workers in Pittsburg, Pa., as complained of in a letter from the International Furniture Workers' Union, the Committee on Grievances, recognizing the fact that the A. F. of L. is based on the principle which gives all organizations the right of self government in trade matters, we, therefore recommend that organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. whose trades are so closely allied as are the furniture workers and the carpenters and joiners, should, in each district, adopt a code of working rules suitable to that particular district so that troubles or differences like that which took place between the furniture workers and carpenters and joiners on the Exposition building at Pittsburg may be avoided in future.

Report concurred in.

##### PRESIDENT GOMPERS AND THE WORLD'S FAIR.

In the matter of objection by the Textile Workers' Progressive Union to the appointment of President Gompers on the World's Fair Committee of New York.

The Committee on Grievances beg leave to report:

That it is the sense of this Committee that we do not consider it advisable to interfere with the appointment of Mr. Gompers on the Committee for the World's Fair.

Moved to concur in the report of the committee.

Amendment offered by Mr. Lennon "That the action of President Gompers is hereby indorsed in accepting the appointment of the Mayor of New York on the Committee on World's Fair, but this resolution shall not be construed as indorsing any particular city for the holding of said Fair.

Mr. Lennon's amendment was then adopted.

##### PROGRESSIVE TAILORS VS. THE BALTIMORE FEDERATION.

In reference to the difference between the Tailors' Progressive Union and the Baltimore Federation of Labor in the boycott of the tailoring firm of S. Hamburger & Son, the committee on Grievances report the following:

On account of conflicting statements and the lack of sufficient evidence on either side the Committee is not in a position to decide the case intelligently, and recommend that the matter be referred back to the Progressive Union with the recommendation that they apply for readmission to the Baltimore Federation of Labor with a view to reopening the case, and to bring about an amicable settlement.

Report concurred in.

##### CARPENTERS OF NEW HAVEN VS. THE CONNECTICUT STATE BRANCH.

In the matter of the Carpenters' Union of New Haven, Conn., having influenced the Trades Council of said city to withdraw from the Connecticut State Branch, the Committee on Grievances in view of the fact, that the Carpenter's Union of New Haven referred to is purely a small local independent body, and is not affiliated with the United Brotherhood or with the A. F. of L., and therefore outside its jurisdiction, recommend that the matter be referred to the incoming President of the A. F. of L. to adjust.

Report concurred in.

On motion the entire report of the Committee on Grievances, as amended, was adopted as a whole.

On motion President Gompers appointed Delegates Vaughan, Ross and Kirchner, a Committee on Thanks.

The Committee on Finance announced itself ready to report. Moved to go into executive session to hear the report. Motion withdrawn and Convention remained in open session.

##### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

To Officers and Delegates to the A. F. of L.:

Gentlemen:—Your committee appointed to audit the accounts of the President and Treasurer beg leave to announce that they have thoroughly and carefully examined all finances in connection with their respective departments, and find that the President and Treasurer have so conducted their offices as leaves no doubt in the minds of your committee as to the integrity and honesty of these officers.

In the examination of the books we find the results as follows:

Balance in Treasurer's hands at last report .....	\$ 604 83
Receipts for fiscal year ending Nov. 30th, 1889.....	6,838 40
Total receipts .....	\$7,443 23
Total amount of expenditures.....	6,578 33

Leaving a balance in the treasury, \$864 90  
In view of the fact that the Finance Committee have been virtually deprived of participating in the deliberations of this Convention for the greater portion of three days, and all future Finance Committees would be similarly situated, we would respectfully recommend that provisions be made at this Convention for having the books properly audited at greater leisure and better facilities than the present method affords, and we further recommend that a committee be appointed by the President from the delegates-elect to all future Conventions, who shall meet at the place des-

ignored for holding such Convention, at least three days previous to the holding of such Convention, and that all books, papers, receipts and vouchers appertaining to the proper performance of their duty be placed in their possession at that time, so that they may be able to properly report as early as possible to the Convention.

On the question of contributing to an International Eight-hour Journal, as proposed by Mr. Emrich, the committee are of the opinion that if any money be appropriated for the furtherance of journalism in the Labor Cause, it should be distributed amongst the labor journals of the United States who are endeavoring to educate and elevate the wage-earners of this country.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN CORCORAN, Chairman.

THOS. J. FLEMMING,

JOHN G. WEAVER,

OSCAR SEIDEL,

HENRY S. GOODWIN, Secretary.

On motion the report of the Committee on Finance was adopted, and the first recommendation in favor of appointing an Auditing Committee to meet in advance of the Annual Conventions and audit the accounts, was agreed to.

The second recommendation of the committee on the subject of an International Eight-hour Journal aroused a very interesting debate. The original resolution offered by Mr. Emrich reads as follows:

#### AN INTERNATIONAL EIGHT-HOUR JOURNAL.

WHEREAS, At the International Labor Congress held in the City of Paris some months ago, it was resolved to issue an international organ in the French, German and English languages for the purpose of furthering the eight-hour movement, and

WHEREAS, The Committee appointed for that purpose has called on labor organizations of all countries to assist them financially and otherwise, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention stipulates a sum to be donated monthly towards the support of said journal to be issued in Switzerland, and that the Federation pledges its support in distributing it in this country.

Mr. Kirchner moved the recommendation of committee be not concurred in, and the sum of \$50 be donated to the proposed journal.

Mr. Kirchner's motion was defeated by a vote of 22 in favor and 24 against.

The report of the Committee on Finance in regard to the journal was then adopted by a vote of 27 to 25.

The report as a whole was then agreed to.

#### ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

At 4 P. M. the Convention decided to proceed to the election of officers.

As tellers, Delegates Labadie and Feller-mann were appointed, and Delegate Shields was chosen as inspector.

Nominations for president being first in order, Mr. Samuel Gompers was nominated for president.

Mr. Lennon moved the Secretary cast the ballot for Samuel Gompers as the unanimous choice of the Convention for President. So ordered.

The Secretary cast the ballot, and amid applause, Mr. Samuel Gompers (cigar maker), was declared elected unanimously as President for the ensuing year.

President Gompers acknowledged his reelection in the following remarks:

If I have earned your confidence and respect, as indicated by your vote, it is more potent than any speech I could make. I care very seldom to make new pledges or to make additional promises. I can only tell you honestly and sincerely that I have tried, to the very best of my ability, to conduct the office of president of this organization, not for the glorification of any man, no matter who he may be; that I have the interests of the American Federation of Labor in view and primarily those of the affiliated organizations, even at the expenses of the American Federation of Labor. In this sense I believe the trades unions of the country should be encouraged and organized, and that the affiliation of those organizations with the American Federation of Labor was a secondary consideration. I am convinced that no great interval of time can elapse between the formation of trades unions and their alliance with the great family of trades unions, as they are represented under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. I have tried to do what I can, and I think that should go as an augury and stand as the substitute of any pledge or promise of what I shall do in the future. If, at the end of my term, my successor shall be elected, I hope to be able to hand over to him the emblem of this office, the plain gavel, as untarnished and as free from stain as I received it when our organization was born. [Loud applause.]

Nominations for vice-president were next in order. Delegates Foster, McGuire, McNeill, and Labadie were nominated and declined.

W. J. Dillon (glass worker) and William Martin (iron and steel worker) were nominated for first vice-president. On first ballot Mr. Wm. Martin was elected vice-president by a vote of 39 to 17 votes for Mr. W. J. Dillon. On motion of Mr. Dillon, the election of Mr. Wm. Martin as first vice-president was made unanimous. Mr. Martin then made a short address of acceptance.

The election of second vice-president being next in order, Messrs. W. J. Dillon and P. J. McGuire were nominated. P. J. McGuire (carpenter) was elected by a vote of 36 to 23 for Mr. Dillon. On motion of Mr. Dillon, the election of Mr. P. J. McGuire as second vice-president was made unanimous. Mr. McGuire accepted in a few brief remarks, and pledged himself to work as faithfully as ever in the cause.

By unanimous consent, Mr. Chris Evans (miner) and H. Emrich (furniture worker) were each respectively elected as secretary and treasurer, and each accepted in a short address

of thanks for the confidence manifested in them.

On motion of Delegate Foster, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote:

**RESOLVED,** That the thanks of this Convention be and are hereby tendered to P. J. McGuire for the earnest devotion and ability with which he has transacted the business of secretary of the American Federation of Labor, and for the great service he has given to organizing of wage-workers and toward securing a reduction of the hours of labor.

#### REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON RELATIONS WITH OTHER ORGAN- IZATIONS.

The Special Committee appointed to prepare an address on the attitude of the K. of L. toward the A. F. of L. reported as follows:  
To the Officers and Delegates of the A. F. of L.:

Your Special Committee appointed to issue an address to the working people of the country upon the attitude of this organization toward the Order of the K. of L., has carefully considered that part of the President's Report bearing upon the subject, together with the recommendations of the Committee on Resolutions and other kindred documents, also the correspondence relating to the issue in question as in the hands of the General Secretary. As a result of this consideration, the committee begs leave to report the following:

#### ADDRESS TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF AMERICA.

Greeting:—The philosophy of trade unionism is based upon actually existing conditions in the labor world and universally inherent qualities of human nature. The history of the trade union justifies its present existence and is a guarantee of its future usefulness.

Organizations to protect the interest of those who are forced to sell their labor for wages as in relation to the interest of those who speculate in labor as a commodity, is a fully demonstrated necessity. Experience has also proven that the wage-earner is the natural and proper guardian of the wage-earner's rights; that the most effective defense against encroachments upon those rights can be achieved through the medium of organization upon craft lines.

It thus becomes imperative that the integrity of the trade union form of organization be zealously guarded; that this well-tested bulwark of labor be defended from overt attacks of jealous rivals as well as from the open antagonism of declared opponents.

The American Federation of Labor desires to establish no monopoly in the sphere of

labor organization. It does not seek to establish an autocracy of labor. It does, however, pledge itself to maintain the prestige and authority of its affiliated organizations, and to enter its most emphatic protest against the policy of any labor society which permits itself to be used as an ambuscade for the destruction of the trade union movement.

In view of the extended array of injuries—too numerous to especially mention in detail—suffered by the trades unions of America at the hands of men who masquerade as Knights of Labor, we deem it necessary to briefly state the attitude of the A. F. of L. toward that Order.

We seek no quarrel. We deprecate antagonism in the ranks of labor organizations. We cast no reflections upon the honesty and sincerity of purpose of the rank and file of the order of the K. of L. For years the officers of this organization have sought to establish amicable relations with that Order, even at a period when certain of its leaders were seeking the very life of the trade unions. Whatever friction may have arisen in the past between the two organizations, the cause must be looked for in other directions than in the desire of the Federation.

Much of the trouble has been occasioned by the organization of National trade districts of the K. of L. in crafts where national and international trades unions already exist. Not only has the creation of this dual authority been productive of evil results, but too often the National trade district has been made the dumping ground for men who have been branded as unfair by the trade unions.

With the original educational purpose of the K. of L., as vested in mixed assemblies, the trade unionists of America were and are in sympathy. The evidence of this fact is to be found in the large number of trade unionists who worked zealously for the building up of the Order in its early period of growth, but who were forced to leave that organization when ambitious and unscrupulous persons sought to trench upon the rightful prerogatives of the trade unions and subordinate the legitimate labor movement to the aggrandizement of personal ambition.

Since the organized protests made by the trade unions in the Spring of 1886 against the continuous onslaught upon the autonomy of the trade organizations, repeated conferences have been held between the general officers of the A. F. of L. and the K. of L. For lack of satisfactory results from these conferences, and apparent indisposition of the general officers of the latter organization to recognize the rightful authority of the trade unions in trade affairs, we feel that the A. F. of L. should plant itself

squ岸ely upon the position assumed by the Executive Council at the conference which was held at Philadelphia, Oct. 14, 1889. This position is as follows:

1st. That the Knights of Labor shall discountenance and revoke the charters of all trade assemblies or districts within their order.

2d. That in turn, the American Federation of Labor and affiliated trade unions will urge their members and encourage the working people to become members of mixed assemblies of the K. of L.

The time has arrived when the trade unions should claim their own. The trend of organization shows that the wage-earners of America are weary of having their interests adjusted by the measure of the huckster or the yard stick of the merchant.

The success of the short hour cause is of too vast import to be imperiled by policies of masterly inaction or acrobatic poisoning.

The march toward the eight-hour goal must not be halted at the behests of the middleman. Professions of harmony and platitudes of peace are a poor recompense for the attempted weakening of the trade union column.

We therefore assert the natural right of the trade unions to occupy the trade union territory. When this right is conceded, discord will end and organized labor be more closely united.

CHRISTOPHER EVANS,  
JOHN T. ELLIOTT,  
ROBERT Y. OGG,  
CHARLES KASSEL,  
FRANK K. FOSTER.

The report of the Special Committee, as above given, was then unanimously adopted and intense applause by a rising vote of the Convention.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The Committee on Resolutions report:

Favorably on the following resolution offered by John S. Kirschner, but recommend the striking out of all reference to "private detective agencies."

#### CONSPIRACY LAWS.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council take such steps as will secure the co-operation of the various organizations of the country in securing the repeal of the conspiracy laws as relating to labor organizations, and also the prevention of the use by employers of the police or private detective agencies, known as Pinkerton's Police, in intimidating workmen engaged in a struggle with their employers for better conditions of labor.

After a very interesting discussion on conspiracy laws and the police powers of the government, the previous question was ordered,

and it was then moved that the report of the committee as to "private detective agencies" be not concurred in. Agreed to. The resolution as originally introduced by Mr. Kirschner was then adopted.

The committee reported favorably on the following resolution of Mr. F. K. Foster:

#### IRON-CLAD CONTRACTS.

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor condemn, in the most emphatic terms, the cowardly and inhuman system in vogue among some employers forcing employees to sign iron-clad contracts as a condition of employment, and urge the gentle persuasion through organizations of labor and effective boycott of products made in iron-clad factories, as a remedy for the evil.

Adopted.

The committee reported favorably on the following resolution offered by Mr. Daniel Harris:

#### PUBLIC EDUCATION.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby reiterates its unalterable devotion to the principle of public education, and favors the greatest liberality in the expenditure of public moneys by the United States and State Governments, to further and advance the cause of the education of the masses.

Adopted.

The committee reported favorably on the following resolution presented by Mr. Paul Heinmann:

#### THE ARTIFICIAL STONE MASONS OF NEW YORK.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor sanctions the purpose of Artificial Stone Masons' Union No. 1, of New York, to secure the practical working of the eight-hour workday on April 1st, 1890.

Adopted.

The committee reported favorably on the following resolution presented by Mr. Geo. W. Reid:

#### FROM THE SAILORS' AND FIREMENS' UNION.

WHEREAS, The members of the International Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union are now affiliated with American Federation of Labor, thereby becoming part of the great army of labor;

WHEREAS, Organized labor can give the members of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union great assistance, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Delegates of the American Federation of Labor in convention here assembled, respectfully request the Marine engineers' Union, and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers to render all the assistance in their power to the members of the International Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union, and thereby further the cause of trades unionism.

Adopted.

The committee reported favorably on the appended resolutions offered by E. Kurzenknabe.

## OFFICIAL LISTS OF SECRETARIES.

RESOLVED, That the Secretaries of all International and National Trades Unions, represented in the A. F. of L., and also of all central bodies, be instructed to report to the President every three months, a list of the addresses of the Secretaries of their respective Local Unions, as well as to find means and ways how to send such list to all Unions, or, at least, make the same accessible to them if they should desire to make use thereof for the purpose of sending out boycott and other circulars when approved by A. F. of L.

Adopted.

The committee report adversely on the following resolution offered by Mr. John Hefernan:

## THE STOPPAGE OF IMMIGRATION.

In view of Carroll D. Wright's report, wherein he says, that (2,000,000) two millions of American workmen are at present living in enforced idleness, we, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, in Boston assembled in convention, deem it our duty to request or demand of Congress that a bill be passed forbidding all foreign immigration for a term say of fifteen years.

It was agreed by a vote of 28 to 13 that the foregoing resolution be referred to the incoming Executive Council.

On motion the report of the Committee on Resolutions was then adopted as a whole.

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

The Committee on Organization reported in favor of the delegates and members of all affiliated unions using special efforts to organize the electricians, the mosaic and encaustic tile layers, and the bookkeepers and clerks, as well as the formation of a waiters' national union, a granite polishers' national union, and a marble and slate cutters' national union.

Agreed to.

On motion the appended resolution offered by Mr. Archibald Barnes, reported favorably by the Committee on Organization, was adopted.

## LOCAL UNIONS MUST AFFILIATE WITH THEIR TRADE HEADS.

RESOLVED, That it is the wish of this Convention that the various Central Labor Unions and State Federations, and all the organizers connected therewith, as well as the organizers of this Federation, be requested to urge upon the various local trade unions represented therein, to affiliate themselves with their National and International Unions when such exist.

On motion it was agreed at 6 P. M. to suspend the rule as to adjournment and to continue in session until all the business was disposed of.

A long letter was read from T. V. Powderly, in which he denied that any delegate to

the general assembly of the K. of L., in Atlanta had said that no trade unionist should be allowed to be a member of the Knights of Labor. He also said that the *National Labor Tribune* took every opportunity to slander and misrepresent the K. of L., and as it was an organ of the A. F. of L. he asked that it and all other trade union journals be requested to cease their attacks. The letter was referred to the incoming Executive Council to answer.

A letter from the French Typographical Federation, congratulating the Federation on its progress, was read, and the President instructed to answer.

A letter from the Western Economic Association on the taking of the census so as to find out the mortgages on farm property was referred to Secretary Evans to inform the Association of the action taken by the Convention.

Telegrams and letters of greeting to the Federation were then read from J. P. Hannegan of the Indiana State Federation, A. C. Howe of the New York State Federation, the Amalgamated Carpenters, and the Central Labor Union of Chicago, were received, and Secretary Evans instructed to answer.

The Committee on Thanks reported, and after a few amendments the report was adopted as follows, by a rising vote:

## VOTE OF THANKS.

The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, takes this opportunity at the close of its session to acknowledge its appreciation of the unbounded hospitality of the people of Boston. To that hospitality is due in a large degree the success of this Convention, and be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby officially tenders its sincere thanks to his Excellency, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, his Honor the Mayor of Boston, the Members of the Common Council, City Messenger Pitts, and the officials of the City Government, all of whom have been unstinted in their generosity and kindness; in the same degree we are under great obligations to the reception committees of the Boston Central Labor Union, Amalgamated Building Trades Council and Carpenters' District Council of Boston,—the rank and file as well as officials of the various labor organizations. The Federation also tenders its thanks to the newspaper press of Boston for its uniformly correct and impartial publication of the proceedings of the Convention, and also its many acts of kindness to the delegates individually, and notably the management of the Boston *Herald, Globe* and *New York Volkszeitung*.

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the A. F. of L. is hereby instructed to forward copies to the various persons and organizations mentioned therein.

J. S. KIRSCHNER,  
DAVID ROSS,  
J. D. VAUGHAN.



## LOCATING THE NEXT CONVENTION.

The next business of the Convention was to determine the place of holding the next annual Convention.

Detroit, Mich., was placed in nomination by Jos. Labadie.

Denver, Col., by J. D. Vaughan.

Chicago, Ill., by J. J. Linehan.

Milwaukee, Wis., by John Stippick.

Philadelphia, Pa., by P. J. McGuire.

On the first ballot the result was: Philadelphia, 26; Detroit, 18; Chicago, 10; Denver, 6; Milwaukee, 1. Total, 61 ballots.

Necessary to a choice '31. There being no choice on the first ballot, a second ballot was ordered.

Second ballot: Philadelphia, 30; Detroit,

30. Tie vote. A third ballot was ordered.

Third ballot: Detroit, 34; Philadelphia, 26.

Detroit, Mich., having received a majority of all votes cast, was declared the choice of the Convention as the place for holding the next—the Tenth Annual Convention—of the American Federation of Labor.

On motion it was ordered that the Executive Council determine how many copies of the Proceedings shall be printed, the same to be sold at ten cents per copy.

On motion it was also ordered that the address on Eight Hours and on the Knights of Labor, be issued in circular form, in English and German, in sufficient numbers to meet all demands.

Moved, the Convention do now go into Executive session. So ordered.

Convention resolved itself into Executive session, and, with closed doors, passed on the report of the Committee on Labels and Boycott.

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABELS AND BOYCOTTS.

The report of the Committee on Labels and Boycotts was then considered in Executive session, and disposed of as hereinafter stated.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 14, 1889.

To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Labels and Boycotts beg leave to report that they have carefully considered the resolutions submitted to them and recommend the approval of the Federation to the following:

1. The request of the Maryland Federation be approved to indorse the boycott on F. Walpert & Co.'s mattress factory, for refusing to recognize the Union.

Adopted.

2. The request of the Lasters' Protective Union be approved for a continuance of the boycott on the products of the shoe factory of John Mundell & Co., Philadelphia, for hostility to the Lasters' Union.

Adopted.

3. In the request of the Journeymen Bakers' National Union, to declare a boycott on the bakeries of S. S. Marvin & Co., Pittsburg, and the Cleveland Baking Co., Cleveland, Ohio, the committee recommend that the incoming President notify affiliated unions of Pittsburg and Cleveland of the issuance of the boycott, with a request that assistance be rendered the journeymen bakers, in their struggle against these firms for ill treatment of employes and opposition to organized labor.

Adopted and referred to the incoming President.

4. That the resolution of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union be approved to boycott the Cunard Steamship Company, for opposing union men and to request members of organized labor to patronize the International and Inman steamship lines, which employ union men exclusively.

Adopted.

5. To indorse the trade-label of the Journeymen Tailors' National Union of America.

Moved to add "and also the label of the Tailors' Progressive Union of America." After some debate the amendment was adopted. The original motion as amended was then agreed to.

6. The request of the International Typographical Union to continue the boycott on the *New York Tribune* for employing non-union labor, was adopted.

7. A resolution offered by Delegate Ogg requesting the purchase, by organized labor of union-label goods in preference to all others, was adopted.

8. The request of the American Flint Glass-Workers Union to boycott the Rochester Tumbler Company, of Rochester, Pa., for hiring non-union labor, was adopted.

9. The request of the United Saw-Makers Union of North America, to have union labor purchase the Richardson saw, the only saw manufactured by organized labor, was recommended favorably.

On motion of Mr. Shields, the words "the Richardson saw, etc.," were stricken out and the following adopted:

RESOLVED, That we endorse all union-made goods, and recommend that organized labor in purchasing saws give their patronage to the products of union labor.



10. In the request of the Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union to boycott the shoe factories of C. T. Sampson & Co., W. G. Cady & Co., and N. L. Milard & Co., and the appeal of the Union for financial aid, the committee would recommend that the boycott on the above firms be endorsed, and that the incoming President issue an appeal to the various affiliated unions to render the financial assistance required.

Adopted, and referred to incoming President.

11. The request of the Journeymen Brewers' National Union to boycott New York Pool Beer receives the unanimous indorsement of the committee. The committee would also recommend that the attention of affiliated unions be called to the following non-union breweries:

Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association, Wm. J. Lemp's Western Brewery, E. Wainright's Brewery, F. Heim's East St. Louis Brewery, Brinkwirth & Nolkner, Lafayette Brewery, Klausmann, Carondelet Brewery, Green Tree Brewery, Anthony & Kuhn's Brewery, Schilling & Schneider's Brewery, Cherokee Brewery, Miller Bros.' Brewery, A. Gresedick's Brewery, Joseph Schneider's Brewery, H. Grone's Brewery, Julius Winkelmeyer's Brewery, Excelsior Brewery, Chas. G. Stifel's Brewery, Hyde Park Brewery, Liberty Brewery, Bremen Brewery, all of St. Louis, Mo.

And the following Milwaukee Breweries:

Philip Best Brewing Co., Cream City Brewing Co., Franz Falk Brewing Co., J. Obermann Brewing Co., Jos. Schlitz Brewing Co., Valentin Blatz, A. Gettelmann, Jung & Bockert, Fred J. Miller.

Recommendation No. 11, as above reported, occasioned a prolonged debate as to the impracticability of issuing numerous boycotts in such a lavish manner and in such a diffusive style. The general sentiments of the delegates was that instead of boycotting a score or more of breweries in a dozen different cities, it would be wiser to centre on a few leading breweries opposed to organized labor. Under this view of affairs, Mr. Kurzenknabe of the journeymen brewers, moved a substitute for the report of the committee, viz.: that organized labor center its efforts against the following breweries:

All New York Pool Beer.

Anheuser, Busch & Co., St. Louis, Mo.

W. J. Lemp's Western Brewery, St. Louis.

Philip Best (Pabst) Brewing Co., Milwaukee, Wis.

Jos. Schlitz Brewing Co., Milwaukee, Wis.

Mr. Kurzenknabe's substitute was adopted.

12. The Committee on Labels and Boycotts would recommend that the attention of the Building Trades represented in the Federation

be called to the following non-union granite cutting establishments:

Adrian, Mich.—Harrison & Son.

Allegheny, Pa.—Begg & Sons.

Austin and Burnet, Tex.—Gus Wilkie.

Bridgeport, Conn.—John Sexton & Sons.

Chester, Pa.—George Leiper & Son.

Charleston, S. C.—Edwin R. White, Thomas H. Reynolds.

Cincinnati, O.—Martin Donohue.

Lithonia, Ga.—J. T. Brand.

Lawrence, Mass.—Warren J. Jones, South

Lawrence, and quarry at Biddleford, Me.

Middle Village, N. Y.—John Sutter.

New Haven, Conn.—Thomas Phillips and

Michael Fahey.

New York, N. Y.—A. Goldner & Son,

Draddy Bros., J. McMullen & Co., Chas.

Rohan, Riley Bros.

Penryn and Rockland, Cal.—G. Griffith's

works.

Suffern, N. Y.—Rockland Granite Co.

St. Cloud, Minn.—Drake, Stratton & Co.

Sacramento, Cal.—Carlow Bros.

Agreed to.

The following resolution, offered by Mr.

Smythe, the committee beg leave to refer to

the incoming Executive Council:

WHEREAS, The non-union firm of I. S. Pickle of St. Louis, as we are informed are using convict labor and bringing the product of the same into Pittsburg to be set up by union men and on union jobs to the great injury of trade unions and against the laws of the State of Pennsylvania, we beg the American Federation to take some steps to stop this class of convict-made marble and slate work.

Agreed to and referred to incoming Executive Council.

13. That the request of the Central Labor Union of Boston be approved, to indorse the Union Label of the Operative Tailors of Boston.

Moved to non-concur. Amended to refer to incoming Executive Council. Amendment prevailed.

14. The request of the Lasters' Protective Union to boycott the following shoe manufacturers was approved:

Ara Cushmann & Co., Auburn, Me.

Baldwell & Libby, Richmond and Randolph, Me., and Lynn, Mass.

Hamilton & Tapley, Boston, Mass.

John Mundell & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

15. The resolution offered by Delegate Kirchner indorsing the Brotherhood of Baseball Players meets with the unanimous approval of your committee.

Adopted.

16. The resolution offered by Delegate Delabar asking that a boycott be placed upon the Fleischmann Compressed Yeast Co., has received the earnest consideration of your committee. Your committee would also report that Mr. Fleischmann has appeared before it, and denied any knowledge of the charges contained in the resolution. Hence, in view of

the conflicting nature of the evidence your committee beg leave to refer the matter to the incoming Executive Council for further investigation.

Moved by Mr. Reed that the Convention non-concur in the report of the committee, and that Mr. Delabar's resolution be adopted as follows:

WHEREAS, The firm of Fleischmann's Bakery, in New York, known as Fleischmann's Compressed Yeast Co., is now engaged in organizing all capitalistic concerns for the purpose of demoralizing the Bakers' National Union, and

WHEREAS, The firm of Fleischmann was instrumental in locking out over four hundred men in Brooklyn, N. Y., New York City and Newark, N. J., also in endeavoring to continue in the same way throughout this country;

WHEREAS, The firm of Fleischmann is one of the greatest monopolies in this country, being extended all over the land and using their influence to control the entire baking industry, also refusing their employees the privilege and personal right to join any labor organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby place a general boycott upon all products of the firm of Fleischmann & Co., namely, known as Fleischmann & Co.'s compressed yeast, Be it further

RESOLVED, To call upon all labor organizations throughout the United States and Canada, to do all in their power to get their friends and the public in general to let Fleischmann & Co.'s compressed yeast alone.

The above resolution was adopted after considerable discussion.

Your Committee on Labels and Boycotts desires to reaffirm the sentiments expressed at the St. Louis Convention regarding union-made goods, and recommends that affiliated unions adopt some plan whereby members who persist in purchasing the products of scab labor can be properly disciplined.

Respectfully submitted,  
J. D. WADE, Chairman.  
J. W. GRAY,  
ROBERT G. SLEATER,  
E. KURZENKNABE,  
HENRY S. LYONS, Secretary.

On motion, the report of the Committee on Labels and Boycotts as amended, was adopted as a whole, and the proceedings of the Executive session were ordered published in the officially printed proceedings.

The secrecy of the Executive session was then raised, and the doors of the Convention were then thrown open to the public.

It was moved that the Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor do now adjourn *sine die*. Agreed to.

The Delegates then gave three rousing cheers for the American Federation of Labor and the eight hour movement.

The Tenth Annual Convention is to meet in Detroit, Mich., December 8th, 1890.

Adjourned *sine die* at 9:30 P. M.

P. J. McGUIRE, Secretary.

Attest:

CHRIS. EVANS, Assistant Secretary.

## Miscellaneous Matters.

Apart from the regular official proceedings of the Boston Convention, several interesting features occurred to make the occasion memorable.

### THE BANQUET AT THE AMERICAN HOUSE.

The banquet at the American House, on Tuesday evening, December 10th, 1889, was a complimentary dinner extended to the delegates and guests, by the city government of Boston, through the hands of the organized labor of that city. In this, Boston outdid its reputation for hospitality, and surpassed any feast ever given to organized labor.

There gathered about the bountifully laden and tastefully arranged tables, an assembly of about 150 persons. The tables were laid out in a "T" shape.

In speaking of this banquet, the language of the Boston *Herald* may very properly be quoted, as descriptive of the gathering:

The main corridor of the American House was crowded before 7 o'clock in the evening with vari colored badged figures, that presented quite a formidable array of labor strength. They were stalwart figures for the most part, and they represented many departments of actual industry; and they were surmounted in most cases also by heads that had few silver locks. It was a gathering of strong men in the prime of life—men who impressed the casual beholder with an appreciation of the extensive influence that they wield.

At the dinner President Compers spoke, in answer to the toast, "The American Federation of Labor," of the earnest spirit that characterized the work of the delegates, and earnestness is the word that gives the most comprehensive and accurate idea of the impression which the manner of the delegates conveyed. There was none of the frivolous disposition

apparent that is sometimes manifested at convivial gatherings of fraternal organizations.

Mr. Frank K. Foster acted as Toastmaster, and the exercises were interspersed by excellent speeches and by excellent vocal and instrumental music.

The toasts responded to were befitting the occasion.

PRESIDENT GOMPERS' ADDRESS.

"The American Federation of Labor," was responded to by President Samuel Gompers, who went briefly into the history, scope, work and value of the American Federation of Labor. We cannot refrain from publishing a portion of his address.

In 1881, in the city of Pittsburg, said Mr. Gompers, the corner-stone of our present Federation was laid, and there was organized what was then known as the Organized Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. The organization was ushered in with loud acclaim, with immense numbers, but in the next year an organized and insidious antagonism, based upon superstition and ignorance of the benefits, the tendencies and purposes of the labor movement, sought to crush out the life blood of the then young organization, so that, as the time went on year after year, it was gradually growing weaker and weaker.

In 1884, in the city of Chicago, the representatives of the various trades unions affiliated with the organization to which I refer, and which was the precursor of the American Federation of Labor, though only few in numbers, sent out, heralding it over the world, the resolution that on May 1, 1886, an attempt would be made to enforce the eight-hour day for the working people of America. (Applause.)

That resolution of that small body of men was taken up and echoed and re-echoed from one corner of our country to the other, until it overwhelmed opposition, and beat down the barriers of those who would strangle the unions of our country. And on the day when that arrived there were more working people who were benefited by that resolution than by any one other act that has ever been done by the working people of the whole world. (Great applause.)

Pardon me if here a moment I digress. It is popularly believed that the eight-hour movement of 1886 was a complete failure, I ask your attention just for a moment, in order that I may demonstrate, in a very few words, how absurd that statement is. You know, as well as I can tell you, and you need not have your attention called to it. Do you know of any one trade in which the working people are

working as many hours to-day as they did before May 1, 1886. (Hear, hear, and cries of "That's right!")

Look even not at skilled, but at so-called unskilled laborers. Car drivers and conductors, notwithstanding that they have been beaten by the corporations, do not work as many hours as they did before May 1, 1886. (Applause.) Men now work from ten to eleven hours a day, and in a few instances twelve hours a day, where formerly their hours were sixteen and eighteen for six days in the week, and on one day they worked nearly twenty-four hours. Look at the brewery workmen, at our laborers of every kind, at our skilled workmen, and you will find that even in commercial life the same change has occurred—that even storekeepers close earlier than they did prior to 1886.

All the efforts of combination, all the efforts at the channels by which thought can be transmitted—were used to poison and mislead the mind of the working people upon the outcome of that movement, and I say that the credit due to the Federation of the Labor Unions of the United States and Canada has not yet been given to it, and the history of that episode must some day be written and the honor accorded to the Federation. (Applause.)

Then it became weaker and weaker as an organization, until there was one level blow attempted to be struck at the trade unions in wholesale; and, in grand response on the part of the men who were true to their organization, a conference was called, and the venue was changed for the holding of the convention of that organization to which I referred, and in Columbus, December, 1886, we found both the trades unions outside the Federation and the trades unions affiliated with the Federation jointly meeting, and the breath of life was thus breathed into the straggling ranks, and the American Federation of Labor was born to the world. (Applause.)

From that time forward the record of the organization is well known to you. Starting as we did, with not \$100 in our treasury, we laid the foundations of our organization, so strongly, so immutably, that we built possibly grander than we knew. (Applause.)

The strength of the American Federation of Labor lies in recognition of the fact that the trade unions are the organization, whose mission it is to improve the condition of labor for the present, and to secure the final emancipation of labor in the future. (Loud applause.)

We recognize that the trades unions are the best qualified to decide upon trade disputes between themselves and their employers; that it is not meet or intelligent, that it is not

progress and does not bring the best results when the grocery storekeeper proposes to discuss how many pairs of shoes a man shall wear. (Applause.)

We want in trade disputes no pound of advice and a pennyworth of assistance, but rather a pennyworth of advice and a pound of assistance. (Hear, hear, and applause.) We feel for our brothers and sisters of labor; we expect to build slowly, yet grandly, so that when one member of the family of organized working people is attacked, the whole army, the grand army of labor, shall respond with their sympathy and their dollars. (Loud applause.)

#### REMARKS OF SENATOR HOWARD.

Senator "Bob" Howard of the Mule Spinners' Union of Fall River, Mass., responded to the toast, "The Commonwealth of Massachusetts." His remarks were replete with evidence of the good accomplished by labor organizations and of the excellent labor laws adopted by the State of Massachusetts. He alluded to the fact that in 1883, the Federation had donated him \$100 to make an agitation to secure labor legislation in Rhode Island, Maine and New Hampshire, and in two years thereafter ten-hour laws had been placed on the statute books of the three States mentioned, and laws limiting the age of child-labor had been enacted. He spoke strongly in favor of the eight-hour day and assured the delegates that the old "Commonwealth of Massachusetts," would not be behind hand in the great movement for reduced hours of toil.

#### RESPONSE OF P. J. M'GUIRE.

Mr. P. J. McGuire replied to the sentiment "Hew to the line—let the chips fall where they may." He caused considerable amusement by his remarks, and his broad sallies of sarcasm were greeted with peals of applause and laughter. He referred to the change from the past, when labor agitators were a much despised class, often without a dinner or a meal. Now they have mayors and governors to welcome them when assembled in convention, and banquets in honor of the movement.

He made a strong and fervid appeal to the delegates to push on the eight-hour movement and take decisive action in its favor.

"From the East to the Pacific coast," said he, "the workers are taking up the joyous refrain of 'eight hours for work, eight hours for rest and eight hours for what you will.' This movement rests for its support and

strength not on politicians. It depends for its strength on the workers themselves.

"We shall hew to the line," he said, "and the line we should hew to is the trade union line. (Laughter and applause.) We have hewed to that line and made that line distinct, squared up the corners and cut off many chips. At the last convention we cut off the eight hour chip, and we are carrying that chip on our shoulder, and do not propose to have it knocked off by any man who carries a 9 1-2 hour chip." (Wild applause and laughter.) The speaker went on to refer to the increasing distinctness of the trades union line, and to the encouraging growth of the Federation.

He declared the "carpenters to be in favor of eight hours, from San Francisco to Victoria in British Columbia, and from Bunker Hill along through the Middle States. It is essentially a labor movement, and not one in which they needed to look to the farmers to help them on." (Great laughter.)

#### SPEECH OF JOHN S. KIRCHNER.

The toast "The blue label—long may it stick," was responded to by Mr. John Kirchner. He reminded workmen that it was their duty to protect their interests, not only as producers, but also as consumers, and held that no man ought to buy a product which was not stamped with the insignia of honest labor. (Applause.) The speaker, while alluding especially to the cigar label, defended the use of honest labels in every trade. (Renewed applause.)

#### OTHER TOASTS AND SPEAKERS.

Robert Y. Ogg, of Detroit, Mich., representing the I. T. U., spoke on "The art preservative of arts," in response to the toast. He reviewed briefly, the organization and work of the printers' trade union, and made felicitous statements of the spirit that has prevailed in the printers' unions.

George W. Reid of the Sailors' and Firemen's International Union, dwelt on "Those who go down to the sea in ships."

The toasts thereafter, which were necessarily responded to briefly, were:

"Labor Cranks," response by Joseph Labadie, Detroit Trades' Council.

"The Modern Tubal Cains," response by F. M. Shaffer, A. A. of I. and S. Workers.

"Our Western guests—may they find Boston hospitality acceptable," response by J. L. Vaughan, Denver.

"The necessity of a closer relationship between the buyer and seller of labor," response by N. P. Gilman.

"Boston Central Labor Union—always to the front in labor reform," response by President J. G. Clinkard.

"Carpenters' district council—bound for eight hours, May 1, 1890," response by President Hugh McKay.

"The Amalgamated Building Trades' Council—may its foundation never rock," response by President Burt E. Stone.

"Boston Common Councilmen—not as black as they are painted," response by Councilman Charles I. Chance.

The crowning speech of the evening was the labor benediction pronounced by the labor veteran, Geo. E. McNeill of Boston. He reviewed the labor question in a masterly way, and in commenting on Mr. Gilman's proposition to have a system of profit-sharing between workmen and employers, Mr. McNeill asserted that the trade-union movement meant the continued advancement of labor, until eventually labor would have all the profits of its toil and there would be no sharing

with the idlers of what labor should have as its own.

The banquet closed very pleasantly at a late hour.

On Wednesday evening, December 12th, an eight-hour mass meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, and in Worcester, Mass., a labor parade and immense mass meeting in Mechanics' Hall was held the same night. The two demonstrations exchanged telegrams of greeting, and delegates to the Convention were the speakers.

On December 13th, a meeting of the Sailors and Firemen of Boston Harbor was held, and a union was formed, which is prospering splendidly.

On Friday night, December 14th, a banquet and ball tendered by the labor organizations of Boston was given the delegates at Odd Fellows' Hall.

## Meeting of the Executive Council.

Boston, Dec. 14, 1889.

Shortly after the close of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor at 10:40 P. M., the Executive Council met in the American House. President Gompers in the chair, and all members of the Council were present. The following business was disposed of:

Three thousand copies of the Proceedings were ordered to be printed, to be sold at ten cents per copy.

A delegation of the Boot and Shoe Workers, Messrs. Skeffington and Lyons, were given a hearing on the necessity for immediate financial aid to the locked-out shoe-workers of North Adams, Mass. It was decided by the Council to issue a circular appeal in behalf of the North Adams shoe-workers.

On motion, it was ordered that a new set of financial books be procured to date from

December 1, 1889, from the beginning of the term of Secretary Evans.

Ex-Secretary McGuire was authorized to prepare the Proceedings of the Convention for publication, and to send proofs to the General Office in New York.

The bill of Committee on Eight-Hour Address, for room rent, \$6.50, was ordered paid.

The sum of \$40 was appropriated to Hugh McGregor, for time, railroad fare, etc., for attendance at Convention as messenger and clerk.

Ordered, that John S. Kirchner take charge of the General Office until December 18th, owing to the absence of President Gompers on a lecturing tour in Vermont up to that date.

Ordered, that an office-boy be employed at a salary not to exceed \$5 per week.

Adjourned.

CHRIS. EVANS, Secretary.

